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ABSTRACT

This volume is part of a series of monographs from Australia devoted to outlining an alternative approach, based on neo-Marxist concepts, to policy studies in education. The opening monograph is a critique of policies favoring transition programs aimed at training students to fit into the prevailing structure of the workplace, suggesting that such policies reflect the ideological stance of the Liberal-National Party Government. The first section of the essay addresses the context of, and responses to, the development of these transition programs. This is followed by a discussion of the Williams Report on "Education, Training, and Employment" commissioned by the Fraser government to promote the view that education and the labor market should be more closely aligned. Other topics discussed include the fiscal and legitimization crises, out-of-school transition programs for youth, inschool transition programs, and future policy directions. This essay is followed by five readings by separate authors: (1) "The Williams Report on Education, Training, and Employment: The Decline and Fall of Karmelot," by John Freeland and Rachel Sharp; (2) "Accumulation Crisis: The Problem and Its Setting," by James O'Connor; (3) "A Labor Market Perspective on Transition Programs," by R. Sweet; (4) "Where Do They Go after School: A Critical Analysis of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth," by John Freeland; and (5) "Curriculum Change and the School-Work Interface: A Critical Analysis of Work Experience," by Peter E. Watkins. An annotated bibliography is included.(TE)

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Youth, schooling, and work: policy and transition

Peter Watkins

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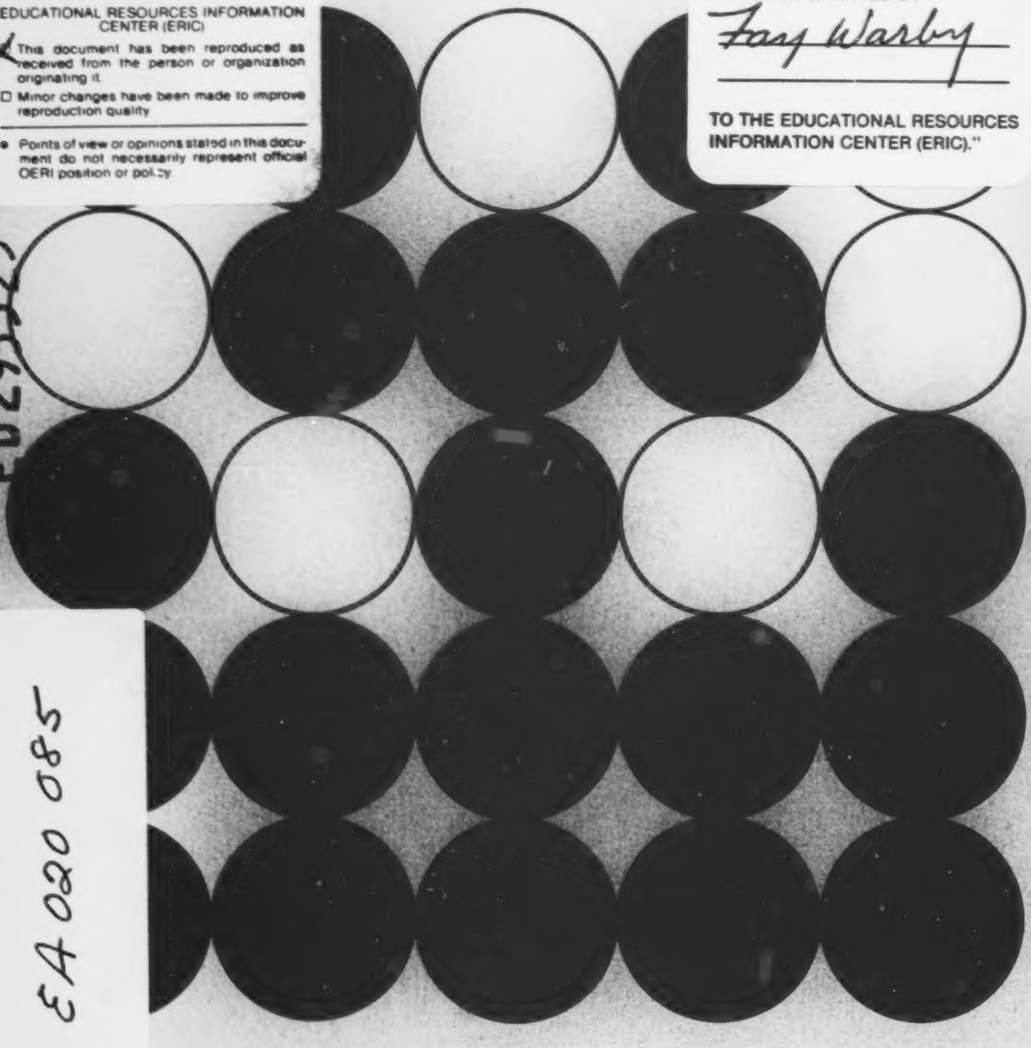

ESA842 POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS

2

ESA842 Policy development and analysis

Youth, schooling, and work: policy and transition

Peter Watkins

Deakin University

Deakin University

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Series introduction

The series of monographs of which this volume is part is devoted to providing an outline of an alternative approach to policy studies in education. The dominant tradition in policy studies has clearly been that of functional analysis based upon essentially economistic conceptions of education. Moreover, policy development has been seen largely as something done by experts and imposed by administrators on a somewhat recalcitrant education system. It is our view that such a conception of policy development and analysis seriously misrepresents the nature and activities of education systems.

While there can be little doubt that a conception of education as a *production* system is widespread, and that such a conception implies that industrial corporate management techniques are appropriate, it is becoming clear that education is also a *cultural* system that involves not only the learning of basic life skills but also systems of meaning, aspiration, and purpose through which notions of personal and social identity are articulated.

Education systems display both the diversity of approach to these issues evident in the wider society and also a degree of autonomy from other institutions. These characteristics ensure that education systems have become, as Bowles and Gintis suggest, laboratories in which competing solutions to the problems of personal liberation and social equality are tested, and the arena in which social struggles are fought out.

Collectively these monographs attempt to explore some of the dimensions of these struggles in Australian education. Beginning with a formulation of a critical theory of policy development and analysis, the series continues with a historical examination of various federal initiatives on educational policy. An analysis of the equality debate follows and then an analysis of the current crisis in relations between youth, schooling, and work. Two further monographs add practitioner perspectives on policy formation in the areas of schooling and gender, and community participation in schooling. We hope, in the future, to add further monographs on such issues as examinations, certification, and credentiation; curriculum policy; the role of minors in policy formation. Each will be set within the context of the struggle to create an equitable, just, and humane education system as a contribution to the development of a society that exhibits these qualities more strongly.

Course team chairman

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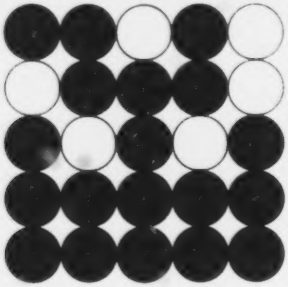
Youth, schooling, and work: policy and transition



Introduction

Historically, at times of high unemployment the link between schooling and work receives increased attention. Although many people see the main task of schools as preparing young people for the workplace, the more specific question of what the connection between schooling and work should be is more problematic. There are two ways of addressing this question: (1) should the schooling system be modified to train young people to fit into the prevailing structure of the workplace, or (2) should the labour-market and workplace be changed to accommodate young people leaving school.

So far the dominant approach has been to tackle the problem through acting on young people, either through the schools or extensions of schooling. The advocates of this form of transition education argue that it will increase the relevance of schooling to the workplace, increase social and work-related skills, increase productivity, improve worker satisfaction, and correct various imbalances in the relationship between school and work. However, the critics of this position argue that such transition courses act as repressive measures, reinforcing docility and obedience in alienating work environments, lowering expectations of young people, storing potentially unemployed youth, and reproducing class, gender, and racial divisions in society.

A third position, while stressing the importance of work and production as part of schooling, emphasises the transformation of the present generally unquestioning transition programs into courses that critically examine the social and economic foundations of society. In this way, it is argued, the divisions between manual and mental labour would be eliminated, and young people would mature into totally developed individuals who could participate not only in production, but also in its planning and organisation.

The debate between adherents of the various positions is in large part political and value based. As with the formulation of public policies in other areas of social activity, the formulation of public policies on youth, schooling, and work is not conceived in a neutral, value-free atmosphere. Rather, the decision as to whether to accept one particular policy stance or another reflects the acceptance or rejection of competing values and ideologies. Thus policy makers are concerned with values and ideological perspectives that support or challenge their positions through competing facts, interpretations, and policy alternatives. Indeed, as Nisbet and Broadfoot argue,

> values almost by definition are a major component of policy . . . [so that] . . . each level of the social structure . . . is characterised by an increasingly wide pluralism of values so that policy making cannot depend on consensus but rather must depend on the legitimation of procedures by the polity and their acknowledgement of the right of the majority to rule . . . At any particular time, however, some values will predominate over others politically.
> (Nisbet & Broadfoot 1980, p. 47)

Selleck, also, argues that 'the policy-maker is at the centre of political, economic, social and personal pressures, ideological concerns, administrative exigencies, [and] psychological difficulties' (1981, pp. 200–1).

The development of policy relating to youth and work has become increasingly an area of concern as the economy has declined, and as industry has been restructured and new technology introduced. Levin (1983) has outlined a number of concerns that have impinged on the way policy development has oriented itself to the competing value systems. First is the fact that employment is no longer available to all those who wish to work. Second, the increase in unemployment has affected the future wages and career mobility of many people. Third, unemployment carries with it problems of inequality—those from the least advantaged social backgrounds are the most likely to be unemployed. Lastly, the prospect of unemployment may affect retention rates at school by reducing incentives to remain within the education system.

It is argued in this monograph that the development of policies in relation to transition programs reflects the particular ideological stance of the Liberal–National Party Government that introduced them. In developing this argument we look at the relationship of policy to the ideology behind many transition programs. Secondly, the Williams and the Myers Reports are examined. Here too, it is argued that these represent a particular ideological stance. Thirdly, the development of transition programs are put in the context of the fiscal and legitimation crises of the State. Fourthly, five transition schemes are discussed: the Educational Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY), the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS), the Special Youth Employment and Training Program (SYETP), in-school work-experience, and an in-school transition course. Lastly, future directions of youth transition programs are suggested.

Policy development: context and response

Over the last ten years the employment situation for young people and their movement from school into the workplace has become a matter of extreme concern. As youth unemployment has increased fourfold, the growing dearth of employment opportunities for young people has resulted in the likelihood of thousands of young people moving into adulthood without ever having been employed.

The annual report of the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs for 1980–81 (see *Age*, 3 August 1982, p. 3) stated that 29.5 per cent of 14- and 15-year-old school leavers who sought work were still unemployed six months later. The unemployment figure in mid-1982 for 16-year-old school-leavers was 21.8 per cent and for 17-year-olds, 17 per cent. In mid-1982 there were 37 500 Victorian teenagers looking for full-time or part-time work.

The youth unemployment rate increased from 16.6 per cent in April 1982 to 17.3 per cent in June 1982. The position for migrant youth was worse as the unemployment rate among migrant teenagers was 19.3 per cent. But the worst group was that of teenage girls as the unemployment rate for those looking for full-time work was 21.2 per cent compared with 15.5 per cent for teenage boys. In addition, the length of unemployment of young people has shown a noticeable increase, rising from an average of 7–8 weeks in 1973 to 25.4 weeks in 1981.

Sweet (1981) argues that such figures represent major structural changes in the Australian labour market rather than short-term cyclical effects. If this is so, we can expect a continued reduction in demand for teenage labour. Between August 1970 and August 1979 the number of teenage boys in full-time jobs fell by 8200 or 2.8 per cent. For teenage girls the picture is much worse. In the same ten-year period the total number of employed teenage girls fell by 26 500 or 8.8 per cent. In particular, full-time employment among teenage girls fell by 71 500 or a frightening 25.9 per cent. In other words, during this period more than a quarter of all full-time jobs for teenage girls were eliminated (Sweet 1981, p. 6).

More recently at the National Economic Summit, in April 1983, the newly-appointed Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator Susan Ryan, outlined the severity of the problems facing young people. She pointed out that the current unemployment rate for youth is the highest ever recorded with 29 per cent of the full-time teenage labour force out of work. This rate had been reached as almost 80 000 full-time jobs previously held by teenagers had disappeared in the preceding 12 months. The Minister indicated that since 1975, as a consequence of these trends, the average length of unemployment endured by young people has doubled and is still rising. In addition, the number of apprenticeships also declined in 1982, and the forecast for the number of new apprentices in 1982–83 was 25 per cent lower than previously (Ryan 1983).

In response to this situation, policies have been developed that seek to assist youth through emphasising 'learning and earning' and 'learning for life'. The assumption is that some acquaintance with the world of work can provide experiences of the labour-market that will facilitate the 'transition' process from school to work.

These policies have resulted in the development of in-school programs such as work-experience and out-of-school programs like EPUY, CYSS, and SYETP.

With the development of in-school programs like work-experience, the emphasis is on changing the individual to fit the prevailing economic and social structure. As Freeland states, policies relating to non-trade programs 'make assumptions as to the adequacy of the individual in terms of motivation, skill or experience and to a lesser extent assumptions about the adequacy of the education system in preparing young people with appropriate work skills and attitudes' (1983a, p. 90). The thrust of the programs is to change individual characteristics or to enhance those particular characteristics of school students that are most suitable to the workplace.

Similarly, the out-of-school programs also stress the proper development of suitable work-related skills, attitudes, and experiences that would presumably develop from a close acquaintance with the 'real' world. These experiences are frequently undertaken for lower than normal wages or involve government-sponsored subsidies—thus reflecting the opinion that the work output of young people is too low for payment of a normal wage. Nevertheless such an approach to the movement of youth into the work force presumes that employment and the gaining of a job is dependent on the acquisition of certain acceptable attitudes and work skills.

Presdee, commenting on the South Australian situation, notes:

> The remedies that are prescribed are aimed at attitudinal change, raising of motivation and self-esteem . . . At all costs, youth, whether employed or unemployed, should be occupied, happy and content, with the majority of unemployment programs, whatever their intention, reflecting these elements of social control. Job-hunting skills, become essential elements of almost all these programs, where participants feel they are at least gaining necessary skills, with the reality being that where there are massive numbers of applicants for precious few positions . . . no amount of job skills will be useful.
> (Presdee 1983, pp. 133, 134)

In this context it can be argued that transition programs are really fostering docile students as a holding exercise that will, none the less, nurture the hope and faith among young people that they will eventually gain employment after a program of a few weeks or months. Moreover, the programs put emphasis on either a 'preparation for work' orientation or a 'preparation for life' orientation. In fact the programs seem to gloss over some important factors: the nature and causes of unemployment; the structural changes taking place in the economy; and inequality, power, and the hierarchical structure of the workplace. There is little reflection on the current structural transformation of industry, occupation, and employment, or any idea of how the undesirable features of the workplace and society might be altered. Indeed it appears that in Australia, as in the USA, such programs seem to direct attention away from more substantive issues:

> In an economy characterized by high and apparently insoluble unemployment, the promise that vocational education . . . can help convert the mismatch between workers and jobs directs attention away from the structural inability of corporate capitalism to provide enough employment.
> (Grubb & Lazerson 1981, p. 97)

By emphasising preparation for work or preparation for life, the thrust of the programs is toward the *preparation of the individual.* Discontent or unrest over a society that cannot provide enough jobs for young people is deflected away from a broad general analysis of contemporary capitalism. Discontent is subsumed by the emphasis on individual preparation and the acquisition of narrow social and work skills. Directing the attention of youth to the perspective that social outcomes are individual, and not structural, allows any blame for the failure to acquire a job to be shifted away from the State. Blame for unemployment is placed either on the individual for not acquiring skills or on the educational institution for not providing appropriate skills and development opportunities.

The development of such policies relating to youth, school, and work have gained legitimacy through the recommendations and reports of committees such as those chaired by Williams and Myers. Politicians seeking an authoritative and 'expert' base for acting in a certain direction have employed the committee process as a way to illuminate and legitimate policy. This is, of course, nothing unusual. Indeed, as Kogan & Atkin point out, 'the use of special committees in education during the last twenty years reveals much about the processes by which educational policies become identified, expressed, legitimated, promulgated, and tested' (1982, p. 3).

In the Australian environment the recent Williams and Myers Reports exemplify the way that a particular government's ideological stance relating to education, training, and technology has been supported and facilitated. However, the essentially ideological stance embraced is often masked by the rhetoric in which the transition programs are presented.

It is argued in this monograph that both the Williams and Myers Reports, despite their claims to 'independence', represent a particular ideological stance that is merely a step away from that of the government of the day—the Fraser Government. The Williams Report especially, as Freeland & Sharp (1979) argue, is an ideological instrument through which policies can be presented that cut education back and bring it to economic heel. At another level, Freeland (1981) has indicated the differences between the official rhetoric of retraining programs in Queensland and the way program directors assign the importance of factors which decide the success of the program. The stated policy for the program emphasises technical skills as being of paramount importance, with attitude and personality traits being of only minor significance. In contrast, the officers in charge of the programs placed psychological factors of attitude and motivation as being of most importance.

These arguments are developed in this monograph through, first, an examination of the Williams and Myers Reports and their implications. Second, the problems of youth schooling and work will be placed within the context of the fiscal and legitimation crises of the State. Third, a number of out-of-school and in-school programs will be discussed and reflected on. Lastly, a number of alternative policy agendas will be presented.

The Williams Report

In late 1976 the Fraser Government appointed the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training under the chairmanship of Professor Bruce Williams to study the relationship between education and future social and economic developments. The report, *Education, Training and Employment*, was tabled in 1979 and is hereafter referred to as the 'Williams Report'. In an interview, Professor Williams stated:

> The major objective of the Committee was to provide a perspective on planning to the year 2000. To provide that perspective it was necessary to make a very large number of projections about population, economic growth, likely interest in post-secondary education, and the likely need for post-secondary education to the end of this century.
>
> (in Hoffman 1979, p. 9)

The Report put forward the view that education and the labour-market should be more closely aligned, especially during a period of major world economic restructuring. The narrowness of this response to its guidelines led one commentator to observe that 'the only values it espouses are economic and materialist—it makes no attempt to advance an educational philosophy which . . . could have been a catalyst for debate' (Jones 1982, p. 167).

Instead the Report is concerned with the mechanical processes of measurement of performance, streaming, and credentialism. Moreover, schools are given some blame for the problems of youth unemployment. In looking for a solution to the high rate of youth unemployment, the Report states that:

> Schools can contribute to that [solution] by more effective teaching of reading and number work, particularly among those who need special help and attention, and by the encouragement of a disciplined habit of work. Greater attention to the problems of transition can help, both directly and indirectly, to make school leavers more employable.
>
> (Williams Report 1979, Vol. 1, p. 133)

This approach of looking at the schools and transition programs for a solution to unemployment is in contrast to an earlier statement in the Report, which suggested that, 'changes in the philosophy and administration of education should not . . . be blamed for the sharp increase in youth unemployment' (1979, Vol. 1, p. 85).

Nevertheless if schools are seen as solving some of the problems of unemployment, it might be asked in what way would these solutions work. If schools make youth more employable, would more jobs become available to young people? If more jobs do not become available, would young people displace older persons or less suitable young people in the competition for jobs?

Williams later acknowledged that education cannot create jobs or employment. As he pointed out in an interview with Hoffman, 'the solution to the problems of unemployment is not going to be found within the education system. It can help, in all conditions it can help, but it can only help. It cannot solve' (in Hoffman 1979, p. 14). Thus the main influence of vocational training both in and out of school is not in job creation but in the development of suitable attitudes towards work and the workplace: 'the direct effect [of work experience programs and link courses] is that the students get a much better idea of the world of work, of the types of jobs that might be available and the skills and work attitudes required for employment' (Williams Report 1979, Vol. 1, p. 131).

With such a recommendation the criticisms of employers who in their submissions sought youth who were 'obedient', 'submissive' and with a 'willingness to carry out mundane tasks' (Williams Report 1979, Vol. 1, p. 109) were legitimated. Schools should be aware of the attitudes required by industry and should endeavour to bring about a closer correspondence between schooling and industry. So that what 'school principals give systematic attention to [is] an extension of guidance and counselling so that school leavers and teachers have a better idea of the skills and attitudes required for particular occupations' (Williams Report 1979, Vol. 3, p. 8).

In this way the Williams Report reflects the recessionary times in which the inquiry was conducted. It was preoccupied with increasing the profitability and capital accumulation of industry through increasing the discipline of the work-force. To achieve this, schools were to become more closely aligned with the demands and needs of the workplace through increased technical control and accountability in the educational sector. As Bates argues, in the Williams Report 'educational ends are implicitly defined as instrumental rather than personal, social or political. Educational means are argued to be essentially technical and need to be centrally directed, as this is the only form that allows for rational planning and inter-sectoral integration' (Bates 1981, p. 8).

The emphasis on the instrumental function of education, coupled with the stress on attitude change, supports the stratification of the higher education system. Firstly, highly trained and specialised products of the universities will take the higher positions in industry, commerce, and the public service. Secondly, the Colleges of Advanced Education are concerned with vocational education and the training of technocrats, and thirdly, Technical and Further Education institutions have been developed to train semi-skilled and skilled workers as well as to accommodate the fluctuations in the numbers of unemployed. As Freeland & Sharp comment, 'such prescriptions result in a reaffirmation of the horizontal and vertical stratification of the educational system corresponding to capital's needs to hierarchise and differentiate the labour force for capitalist control and accumulation' (1979, p. 29).

The Williams Report and its recommendations on the development of policies relating to youth training and unemployment are inherently concerned with a rationalisation of education on economic grounds. This reflects the prevailing fiscal crisis of capital and the State, as well as the changing labour needs of the economy. In achieving this, schools are required to gear themselves more harmoniously to the needs and requirements of industry.

The Myers Report

The Myers Report on technological change, is considered an inferior document to the contemporaneous Williams Report. Indeed, as Macdonald puts it, 'there were few who saw the Myers Report as a useful contribution to anything' (1982, p. 64). The Committee of Inquiry into Technological Change in Australia was appointed in December 1978 under the chairmanship of Professor Rupert H. Myers with the prime function of reporting on the 'process of technological change in Australian industry'. The report *Technological Change in Australia* was tabled in 1980 and is hereafter referred to as the 'Myers Report'.

Essentially, the view presented is that technological change is, and has been historically, the main engine for the productive improvement necessary for basic economic growth. Such growth, the Report argues, will eventually lead to more jobs and greater affluence in the community, even though there may be 'functional' disjunctures and 'jobless growth'. However, these minor 'hiccups' will be ironed out by the influence of the market system. Thus technological change is viewed from an optimistic stance based on the assertion that in most cases in the past the fears associated with major technological changes have not been realised. As the Report explains, 'the Committee . . . does believe, however, that the available historical evidence shows that technological change has in the long term created wealth and employment, and that future technological changes will continue to have this effect' (Myers Report 1980, Vol. 1, p. 74).

Such a view supports the notion that most of society's economic ills may be solved by technological innovation and change. The recommendations are derived from this view and assert that:

- technological change is claimed to be essential for Australia's development and enhanced living standards;
- Australia should become more innovative and should encourage the spread of new technology;
- worries about the impact of technological change are unfounded because change is not as rapid as is often feared;
- historically, technological change has led to higher productivity and improved employment opportunities; and
- through technological change, new areas of demand will be created, which, with improved cost structures, will enable new and more innovative approaches to be undertaken by industry.

The Report, in giving the green light for wholesale technological change, gives scant regard to the social consequences inflicted on displaced and unemployed workers, beyond establishing 'safety net' provisions. It endorses the restructuring of industry as the solution to the problems of capital accumulation causing concern in most Western societies. The social consequences of unemployment merit only three pages of direct consideration and are only briefly alluded to elsewhere. This almost complete neglect of the social consequences of new technology might reflect the fact that the three people appointed to the committee all had technological backgrounds: the Chairman, Professor Rupert Myers, was a metallurgist and Vice-Chancellor of the University of New South Wales; Mr A. Coogan was an engineer and general manager of Nabalco Pty Ltd; and Mr W. Mansfield was Federal Secretary of the Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association.

The adoption of a purely technical approach can lead to the neglect of a number of important questions associated with technological change. Firstly, there is the question of how technological change interacts with other social and economic changes taking place in society. These might include declining birth rates, a steadily ageing population, increased female activity in social and economic areas, and the distribution and allocation of society's resources.

Secondly, we must consider who benefits. Technological change does not happen because of some inevitable and predetermined action, but through a conscious decision-making process. It is not predetermined that technology will develop in a particular fashion, in a particular area—there are choices, and people do decide these matters. Consequently, the question must be raised and answered as to who benefits from the new technology. Who does receive the benefits? Who has to bear the burden of any unpleasant social consequences?

Thirdly, questions should be raised about who controls the technology and how the resulting changes in control reflect a changing power relationship in our society. For instance, would the use of a communication satellite bring about a highly centralised communications network with power centralised in the hands of a few media tycoons? Would the development of a highly centralised computer-based system in industries, such as banking, lead to a decrease in local branch autonomy and personal service to the customer? Such questions should be central to any investigation of technological change. The social implications should not be neglected through the overly optimistic technological determinism put forward by technocrats.

Jones (1982) comments that the Fraser Government adopted the bulk of the Myers Report although rejecting the fairly minimal 'safety net' provisions that would have given some compensation to workers displaced by technology. The Minister for Industry and Commerce, Sir Phillip Lynch, in accepting the Report, argued that

> innovative technologies also have another very important effect. They frequently create their own demand. The modern jet airliner is a case in point. The rapid spread of national and international air travel could barely have been imagined 20 or 30 years ago. Consumer durables such as television receivers are also examples of significant new industries which have developed as a result of technical innovation.
>
> (in Jones 1982, p. 33)

However, while aviation and television industries may be seen as the pinnacle of modern technology and as massive producers of goods and equipment, they do not employ many people (Jones 1982, p. 33).

The Myers Report should be seen in context with the other contemporaneous reports commissioned by the Fraser Government in the late 1970s: the Williams Report on education, and the Crawford Report on the manufacturing industry (Commonwealth of Australia 1979). A main function of the Myers Report, as seen by the Minister for Productivity, Mr Macphee, was to 'bridge the gap' between the Williams and Crawford Reports (*National Times*, 2–9 June 1979, p. 24). For while it was feared that these two reports might induce apprehension about technological change, Macphee was optimistic that the Myers inquiry would reassure people that technology actually creates jobs and that people's living standards increase through technological change. The Minister's faith was confirmed by the actual findings of the inquiry. Although independent and autonomous, the Committee reflected and legitimated the dominant government ideology so that the restructuring of the Australian economy to cope with the problems of capital accumulation could proceed apace.

This section has examined the general formulation of policy in regard to the movement of youth from school into the work-force. It has argued that to ensure the successful implementation of policies, governments often resort to the setting up of committees to legitimate a certain ideological position. From this viewpoint it has been argued that two recent committees, those of Williams and Myers, have both produced reports that legitimated the then government's ideological position on education and technology. Through the imprimatur of these committees, technological change and the restructuring of the economy could proceed in the interests of capital accumulation and the resolution of the present fiscal crisis. In the next section the theoretical perspectives on the fiscal crisis of the State (O'Connor 1973) and the closely linked legitimation crisis of Western societies (Habermas 1976) will be discussed.

The fiscal and legitimation crises

In the preceding section it has been argued that the policies advocated by the Williams Report and the Myers Report are closely linked to the concern for increased accumulation of capital through the training of a more compliant labour force and the encouragement of technological change. These policies have been developed as a consequence of the current economic crisis, which had its seeds in the boom of the 1950s and 1960s. During this period of relatively full employment, powerful labour unions were able to bargain from a position of strength to raise the share of wages and to decrease profits. Then, the fear of exhaustion of accessible raw materials, such as oil, drove up prices, worsening the terms of trade. Finally, with the onset of the crisis, further demands were put on the State to increase expenditure in both the economic field (in order to assist the restructuring of industry and to subsidise ailing firms) and the social field (through the development of youth employment schemes and the extension of unemployment benefits). This in turn meant restrictions in education, health, housing, and general social services. So while certain areas of State spending have been cut back, others have expanded. This has resulted in a restructuring of spending patterns.

These restrictions in education, health, housing, and welfare have resulted in a loss of faith in the State's capacity to establish and implement social policies. This legitimation crisis has extended to the educational system. Here there is increasing frustration on the part of both parents and students, who now believe that the educational benefits passed on by the schools do not materialise into economic benefits (Rumberger 1982). The resultant erosion of support has become increasingly evident as students reject education as a means of obtaining a job (see Schools Commission 1982) or consider private schooling as a surer pathway into the work-force. In education, as elsewhere, the State is facing escalating demands in its task of organising and developing an increasingly complex society, and finds that it is becoming increasingly difficult to form acceptable responses. The result is, as Weiler argues,

> a general erosion of confidence in public authority. This erosion manifests itself both in growing cynicism toward the state and its agencies and in a progressive loss of confidence in public institutions that are sponsored by, supported by, authorized by, or otherwise identified with the state.
>
> (Weiler 1982, p. 10)

In explaining this phenomenon, O'Connor (1973) puts forward the proposition that the traditional economic crisis of mass unemployment has been transformed into a political crisis. The fiscal crisis of inflation, high deficits, and unbalanced budgets leading to a legitimation crisis, is the present-day manifestation of the mass unemployment of the 1930s depression.

The fiscal and accumulation crises

The present economic crisis has been referred to by O'Connor (1973) as 'the fiscal crisis of the state'. He argues that there are three sectors within capitalist economies—the monopolistic, the competitive, and the State—each employing about a third of the labour force. However, a differentiation exists: 'because state industries are not organized for direct profit the private sector plays the preeminent role in economic expansion. Within the private sector monopoly industries are the "engine" of capital accumulation and economic growth' (O'Connor 1973, p. 23).

The State's role is mainly one of facilitating accumulation, by encouraging conditions where the accumulation of capital is possible, and 'legitimation', the maintenance of social harmony and reduction of conflict through the payment of social expenses, of which education, training programs, and unemployment benefits might be examples. Thus, in late capitalism the State is seen as playing an increasingly important role, as it is *the* sector in society that can restructure capital, rationalise competition, and reduce any conflicts arising from the crisis. For while the State must attempt to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable accumulation is possible, it must also try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony (O'Connor 1973, p. 6). Thus, as Clegg argues, 'it has to maintain "legitimacy" through retaining loyalty, apathy or acquiescence of economically exploited and socially oppressed classes, while, at the same time, it aids their further exploitation' (1980, p. 38).

O'Connor (1973) argues that these two functions are in basic contradiction. For, in maintaining the expenses of accumulation, unemployment and poverty are generated. In turn, to try and maintain its image of 'legitimacy' and preserve the allegiance of the poorer sectors of the society, the State has to respond with new initiatives and policies in welfare, education, and retraining programs. These initiatives not only assist in mediating the contradictions of corporate capitalism, but also assist in reproducing the working class. In particular, the education system does not only mediate in this way, but can also operate through various out-of-school and in-school transition programs to adapt the labour force and potential labour force more effectively to the needs of the labour-market. However, through this increasing demand for expenditure on social services, the State runs short of the finance needed for accumulation.

As the State is forced to slow the growth of its social welfare spending, and slow the growth of real wages, the legitimacy of the State will be increasingly challenged, because the State bases any claims to legitimacy on being able to provide steady economic growth and progress towards the best of all possible worlds. As a consequence, as Block (1981) points out, the managers of the State are on the horns of a dilemma:

> On the one hand, they can risk a reduction in legitimacy by cutting back services to the population or by raising taxes beyond levels that are seen as fair. On the other hand, they can undermine the accumulation process by reducing services needed by capital or by raising additional revenues in an inflationary manner.
>
> (Block 1981, p. 2)

O'Connor in a recent paper (1981) has argued that this contradiction is leading to a large-scale reorganisation or restructuring of capitalism. It is in this context that the Williams and Myers Reports must be put. Inherent in this has been a reduction in real wages, a deterioration in social services, and poorer working conditions. Thus any new attempts to legitimate State productivity policies have to be essentially political and ideological, with the aim of restructuring 'social life'. Consequently education and educational policies are increasingly implicated in capitalist accumulation: 'the reproduction of labor-power is more than ever the "fourth circuit" of capital. The social conditions of reproduction of labor-power are today a barrier to accumulation and must themselves be restructured for renewed accumulation' (O'Connor 1981, p. 122).

It is in this light that one can view the restructuring of education as outlined in the Williams Report—including the advocacy of transition programs within a stratified system. Through such schemes the work-force might be more appropriately reproduced, the social relations of the workplace legitimated, and the goals and values of management internalised.

The legitimation and motivation crises

Fiscal crisis, however, leads directly to legitimation and motivation crises, which are the primary concerns of Habermas (1976). Basically, O'Connor and Habermas are in agreement that an increased need for legitimation is created by State intervention in economic and social life. If the required legitimations are absent due to the presence of 'motivation deficits', the consequent shortages in legitimation must be compensated for by material rewards.

Habermas argues that the competing fiscal demands being made on the State generate a legitimation crisis through the increasingly difficult task of reconciling efficient accumulation with the process of legitimation. But Habermas suggests 'legitimacy' should be regarded in Max Weber's sense: 'the legitimacy of an order of domination is measured against the *belief* in its legitimacy on the part of those subject to the domination' (Habermas 1979, p. 199). Thus legitimation is viewed as that 'constellation of reasons and beliefs which social members willingly affirm in their support of the social order' (Turkel 1980, p. 19).

Habermas argues that there are different ways in which the current legitimation crisis might arise. Advanced capitalist societies are endangered from at least four possible crisis tendencies. It is a consequence of the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system that, other things being equal, either:

> - the economic system does not produce the requisite quantity of consumable values, or;
> - the administrative system does not produce the requisite quantity of rational decisions, or;
> - the legitimation system does not provide the requisite quantity of generalized motivations, or;
> - the socio-cultural system does not generate the requisite quantity of action-motivating meaning.
>
> (Habermas 1976, p. 49)

Habermas is arguing that, from these crisis tendencies, the capitalist crisis, while originating in the economic sphere is displaced and transformed into other spheres. The expense of attempting to control the crisis in the economic sphere leads to displacement into the rationality crisis, then the legitimation crisis, and, finally, the motivation crisis. As these crises take their toll, the end result is that the State can survive only at the cost of individual autonomy.

Consequently, any policy initiatives have to be initiated and legitimated by a seemingly autonomous body or committee. For if any intervention by the State is too blatant, it will be seen as irrational, as propaganda instigated through the immediate requirements of the State. The individual will perceive the lack of continuity in norms as subordination of truth to the needs of the State. For when the political system takes over the planning ideology,

> *there is no administrative production of meaning*. Commercial production and administrative planning of symbols exhausts the normative force of counterfactual validity claims. The procurement of legitimation is self-defeating as soon as the mode of procurement is seen through.
>
> (Habermas 1976, p. 70)

This disjuncture in legitimation leads, Habermas maintains, to a motivation crisis. He argues that

> a legitimation crisis, then, must be based on a motivation crisis—that is, a discrepancy between the need for motives declared by the state, the educational system and the occupational system on the one hand, and the motivation supplied by the socio-cultural system on the other.
>
> (Habermas 1976, p. 75)

Thus the processes set up to control the legitimation crisis undermine the supply of general motives that guarantee the normative world view. Consequently, a motivation crisis arises because 'bourgeois culture as a whole was never able to reproduce itself from itself. It was always dependent on motivationally effective supplementation by traditional world-views' (Habermas 1976, p. 77).

If the individuals who are increasingly questioning the social norms cannot be pacified by the State's legitimising mechanisms or be bought off through the distribution of value, the motivation crisis will continue. The result will be that 'the system will not find sufficient motivation for its maintenance' (Held & Simon 1976, p. 13).

As a consequence, Habermas sees that from the legitimation process will come an attempt by the State to control motivational systems. He argues that, especially in the world of work, the present and future workplace requires increasing motivation because

> fragmented and monotonous labor processes are increasingly penetrating even those sectors in which an identity could previously be formed through the occupational role. Intrinsic motivation to achieve is less and less supported by the structure of labor processes in spheres of labor dependent on the market. An instrumentalist attitude to labor is spreading even in traditional bourgeois vocations . . . An extrinsic motivation to achieve can, however, be adequately stimulated by wage income only
>
> - if the reserve army exercises an effective competitive pressure on the labor market;
> - if there exist sufficient income differentials between the lower-paid groups and the inactive labor population.
>
> (Habermas 1976, p. 82)

However as neither condition is automatically fulfilled at the present time, new ways are needed to avoid crises. Consequently, Habermas asks, 'Are we dealing with the birth pangs of a fundamentally new mode of socialisation?' (1976, p. 129). In this socialisation people no longer see the social order as requiring justification, but see it as the normative order.

Implications

The perspectives of O'Connor and Habermas throw new light onto the functions of school-to-work transition programs and the formulation of policies in that area during the cyclical crises of capitalism. They provide an added dimension to the importance of socialisation and the need for reproduction of the work-force whilst corporate capitalism is being restructured during times of crisis. In this light the implementation of transition programs can be viewed as an element of this socialisation and reproductive process during a period of fiscal, legitimation, and motivation crises. This is a period when the system fails to supply a sufficient amount of generalised motivation, and when there is a discrepancy between the need for motives declared by the State, the educational system, and the occupational system. The legitimation perspective of school-to-work transition programs is embodied in the argument of Habermas that:

> The legitimation problem of the state today is not how to conceal the functional relations between state activity and the capitalist economy in favor of ideological definitions of the public welfare . . . the problem consists rather in representing the accomplishments of the capitalist economy as, comparatively speaking, the best possible satisfaction of generalizable interests—or at least insinuating that this is so.
>
> (Habermas 1979, p. 196)

Transition programs carry the hope that by being aware of, and complying with, certain 'rational' and 'scientific' procedures that are taken for granted and 'natural' in the work place, young people will achieve their best possible life outcome.

In the following section we will examine some of the out-of-school transiton programs as well as the increasing development of work-experience and transition courses as in-school transition programs.

Out-of-school transition programs for youth

In this section three out-of-school or post-school programs—the Educational Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY), the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS), and the Special Youth Employment and Training Program (SYETP)—will be examined. However, while doing so it is wise to keep in mind the economic and political context in which these schemes have evolved. For Freeland (1980) points out that given the present economic and political circumstances, the constraints on public spending have led to a concerted effort to produce a more efficient structure for providing industry with a compliant and adequately prepared labour force. Consequently,

> the state's political response to this situation is to place renewed emphasis on careers education, the basics . . ., technical training, labour market planning and work experience programs to make school leavers more attuned to the demands of industry. Simultaneously, there are moves to increase the school retention rate and develop an alternative institutional apparatus to maintain youth in a state of suspended readiness for work (for example, CYSS and EPUY).
>
> (Freeland 1980, p. 160)

But as was argued earlier, these programs emphasise an individualistic approach. The official government guidelines stress the improvement of levels of literacy, numeracy, self-confidence, job-seeking skills, other negotiable skills, and attitudes towards work and employment.

The Educational Program for Unemployed Youth

EPUY was begun in 1977 with the aim of remedying deficiences in the basic skills of unemployed youth, restoring their self-confidence, and improving their motivation towards employment. In this sense, EPUY is a remedial educational course attempting to remedy individual personal and vocational skills. As Hubbert puts it:

> The Education Program for Unemployed Youth is based on the premise that a significant number of young unemployed are likely to remain so because of inadequate educational and personal development. Many will have left school early with low standards of literacy and numeracy. Their lack of achievement at school, followed by a lack of success in the employment market will often have led to low motivation towards either work or self-improvement. A worthwhile proportion of the young people currently affected would recognize that such educational inadequacies are reducing their chances of obtaining stable employment and would be willing to accept an opportunity to participate in courses designed to overcome the worst of their deficiencies. These courses are intended to be built around the improvement of vocational skills, including literacy and numeracy.
>
> (Hubbert 1980, p. 10)

The emphasis, it should be noted is on modifying and changing the individual young person to fit the prevailing structure of work. But while their worst deficiences may be remedied, young people are still not assured of work unless the number of available jobs increases.

The scheme generally focuses on 15- to 19-year-olds who are presently unemployed. The programs, however, may enrol participants up to the age of 24. Up to 25 per cent of the statewide EPUY enrolments are permitted to come from this older category.

Under the Labor Government the courses are administered by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. Under the former Fraser Government, they were administered by the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs and the Commonwealth Department of Education. However, EPUY is now seen as a particular kind of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) transition course, and is conducted in TAFE colleges. Also the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) is involved in the selection of suitable young candidates. The local CES offices identify suitable young people from their unemployment registers. These people are then contacted and advised of the courses available. They then form a pool of young people from which the TAFE colleges select their intakes.

To be eligible for the scheme, the young people must have been unemployed and away from school for four or more months out of the previous 12 months, and registered at an office of the CES as looking for work. If they fulfil these conditions, they are eligible to apply for a 'transition allowance', which is equal to their unemployment benefit plus a $6.00 a week travel allowance, whilst participating in an EPUY program. All EPUY participants aged from 15 to 24 years may receive the allowance. However, as emphasised before only 25 per cent of each state's enrolments in EPUY may be between 19 and 24 years of age. It should be noted that while participants are enrolled in EPUY they are taken off unemployment benefits and the register of the unemployed, thus reducing the official rate of unemployment. There were 5440 commencements to

EPUY in 1980-81 (Bureau of Labour Market Research 1983).

The programs are full-time and attendance is compulsory. They vary in length from 12 to 36 weeks. This variation would seem to reflect the different ways that states and individual colleges interpret the role of EPUY. The ambiguous nature of the various EPUY schemes is pointed out by Hubbert. The federal guidelines stress

- levels of literacy
- levels of numeracy
- attitudes towards work and employment
- self-confidence
- levels of job seeking skills
- levels of other negotiable skills

(Hubbert 1980, p. 65)

Yet the EPUY objectives can differ widely from state to state, as shown in Table 1. For example, literacy can be ranked 2 in one state and 10 in another and numeracy, 4 in one state and greater than 10 in another. The EPUY courses can also vary in length from 12-18 weeks in Canberra to 20 weeks in Melbourne. These differences between the federal guidelines and the state course co-ordinators' objectives have been termed by Freeland (1980, 1981) as refractions. He explains:

> Just as light is refracted on passing through water, glass, etc., the initial political decision is necessarily refracted (variably) as it passes through the stages of implementation. This being so, the final impact of a political decision tends to be different from the initial political intention.
>
> (Freeland 1981, p. 373)

With EPUY the Fraser Government's initial intentions were modified by the course co-ordinators who believed that young people would increase their chances of employment if courses provided a major concentration on the personal development of participants (Hubbert 1980).

Table 1. Priority ranking of EPUY objectives in Queensland and South Australia (Hubbert 1980, pp. 67, 68)

	Objectives	
Rank Order	**Queensland**	**S. Australia**
1	Improve self-confidence	Improve self-confidence
2	Improve motivation	Improve literacy
3	Develop job holding skills	Improve motivation
4	Develop new job skills	Improve numeracy
5	Improve human relationship skills	Improve job knowledge
6	Improve job knowledge	Develop job holding skills
7	Help cope with unemployment	Help cope with unemployment
8	Provide a supportive environment	Improve human relationship skills
9	Develop social awareness	Provide a supportive environment
10	Improve literacy	Develop social awareness

Hubbert's report not only stresses emphasis upon the individual modification within the program, but also acknowledges that it displays a class bias. He describes a typical EPUY participant as coming

> from a large family in the lower socio-economic levels of society. The father is a blue-collar worker with at best a secondary education. The typical member has left school during Year 10 of education and has been away from school for about three years, and employed for about half this time.
>
> (Hubbert 1980, p. 19)

In Victoria, the most recent 1983 figures from TAFE (pers. comm.) support Hubbert's 1980 findings. Of the students, 88 per cent come from state schools, especially from the northern and western suburbs (see also Dwyer et al. 1981), and two-thirds of the young people have up to Year 10 education only.

The focus on individual skill training does not ensure a job for such young people. After the relatively short training period that is offered, they are often thrown back onto their own resources. As Hubbert's evaluation indicates, 66 per cent do not find employment, while 8 per cent lose the job that they find, resulting in only a 26 per cent success rate (1980, p. 194). He concludes that 'it is doubtful whether the placement rate of EPUY participants would be significantly in excess of the placement rate of non-participating members of the client group over the same period' (Hubbert 1980, p. 195).

The development of policies and programs that are primarily concerned with developing individual attitudes that are in harmony with the demands of industry, but which are not coupled with job creation can do little to solve the unemployment of young people. Thus new forms of educating youth are of little use unless new forms of work are also created. As Dwyer et al. comment, 'the combined result of all this so far has been the continued individualisation of failure amongst unemployed young people, and the maintenance of the myth that there are jobs available' (Dwyer et al. 1981, p. 30).

In an attempt to come to grips with this problem, the newly-elected Labor Government has subsumed the School to Work Transition Programs, which includes EPUY, into the new Participation and Equity Program. This program will attempt to ensure that education, training, income support, and employment policies are harmonised to the maximum extent. In doing so it will become the centre-piece of the overall framework of youth policies that the Labor Government is considering. The twin objectives are to increase participation in education and to introduce greater equity in the overall provision for young people (Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission 1983, p. 4). In this context, existing schemes such as EPUY will be evaluated in light of the Government's objectives, and their continuance will depend on government consideration of reports to be prepared by the Schools Commission and the Tertiary Education Commission.

The Community Youth Support Scheme

CYSS is a major community-based program introduced during late 1976. The program caters for young people aged between 15 and 25 who are unemployed and not in full-time education. In 1981–82 the scheme served almost 60 000 participants, which is a larger flow through of young people than EPUY. However, the population of CYSS is not really comparable with that of other programs. This is because, firstly, CYSS is voluntary. Participants have a high degree of freedom to come and go. In this sense it is a support program, not a training program, despite the new 1982 guidelines giving it a more vocational orientation through the emphasis on aspects such as, 'training in job skills'. Secondly, the young people do not have to be unemployed for four months of the previous 12 months and they do not lose their unemployment benefit while they participate.

CYSS is less organised and more informal than other programs. As Freeland (1982) points out, 'it is non-institutionalised, it operates on a drop-in basis, it does not in general provide formal courses, and its community basis ensures a vast diversity in activity provision' (p. 11). These activities are operated through local management committees, which receive assistance through a grant from the Federal Government for staffing. These projects consist of a range of activities for young people. They include work creation activities, training in job skills and job search skills; work-observation and work-experience; learning about advice and information bureaus and referral services; life skills such as budgeting and nutrition; incidental job placement; and incidental recreational activities.

The most common basis for the particular activities within CYSS programs is the concern to improve the self-esteem and self-confidence of the participants. Dwyer et al. (1981) report that staff in the schemes felt that this could be achieved best through the development of skills through which young people could produce goods or services, so giving them a sense of accomplishment. A major concern of the staff was that of giving the young people skills to cope with unemployment, so that they might not be taken advantage of, or 'ripped off'. The staff also felt that greater self-confidence and self-esteem increased their employability for the young people. However, Dwyer et al. (1981) found that only in a couple of instances did these skills play an active role in assisting young people to find jobs.

The thrust of the recent guidelines has been to try and emulate other transition programs in modifying the individual in preparation for the workplace. The aim is to strengthen the scheme's emphasis on improving the employability of the young, in this sense becoming a remedial program. Thus Dwyer et al. (1981) report that one staff member whom they studied saw their task almost as 'social remediation', in which they had to teach the minimum social skills to enable the participants to apply for, and hold, a job—irrespective of the working conditions. But as Freeland points out, 'there is no way of ensuring that CYSS will perform this function. In fact its structure and pattern of operation go a long way toward ensuring that it does many things before keeping the young unemployed ever-ready for work' (1982, p. 11). Nevertheless, such schemes are only peripheral to the alleviation of unemployment, without the creation of more jobs. Unless there are sufficient jobs in the community, no amount of vocational or personal skill training will ensure that all the unemployed obtain a job.

Because of the loose nature of CYSS, the previous government introduced four different sets of guidelines in an effort to put it under stricter financial and structural control. The problems associated with these efforts led the Fraser Government to attempt to axe the scheme. However, widespread community action (see Freeland 1982, 1983b) procured its survival. This action eventuated because as Freeland points out, CYSS performs a number of valuable functions through a high degree of community participation and involvement. These include assistance with legal matters, drug problems, nutritional advice, welfare rights, as well as a referral system for other programs (Freeland 1983b). Nevertheless there are problems. Apart from the open hostility of the Fraser Government a major problem is that there has been little development of alternative structures for young people, resulting in overdependence on CYSS. Also CYSS rarely caters specifically for females or particular ethnic groups. In addition the centres often fall under the influence of a particular dominant group (Freeland 1982). However, of all the transition programs, 'much more is done for the young unemployed through CYSS, not the least being the provision of de-mystifying and delegitimising information and activities' (Freeland 1983b).

Special Youth Employment Training Program

SYETP is intended primarily as a work experience program for unemployed young people between 15 and 25 years of age. There are two levels to the program:

1. 'Standard' SYETP, which provides a subsidy to an employer of $75 a week. For that payment the employer provides work-experience and on-the-job training for up to 17 weeks for a young person aged between 15 and 24 who has been unemployed and away from full-time education for at least four of the last 12 months. During the time on the job, award wages must be paid.
2. 'Extended' SYETP differs in that it operates for 34 weeks instead of 17 weeks. The subsidy to employers is $100 for the first 17 weeks and then $75 a week for the remaining period. Young people between the ages of 18 and 24 are eligible if they have been unemployed or away from full-time study for at least eight of the last 12 months.

Stretton (1982) has criticised such training schemes because the actual training component of the work is often very small. The tasks that the participants most frequently are expected to perform do not increase their prospects of employment in other companies. In addition, he considered that the SYETP has the effect of recycling unemployment rather than reducing it, for employers can dismiss participants at the end of the time period and appoint new subsidised trainees.

O'Neill (1982), in a study of SYETP, reports that in one case an employer registered 35 vacancies with the CES a few days after sacking 30 of his permanent staff. He then wanted to employ 35 new workers, all under 25 years of age and subsidised by the Federal Government for $75 a week for 17 weeks. Moreover it seems that employers are mainly concerned with offering low-skill work to the very young. In a submission to the Federal Auditor-General, the Administrative and Clerical Officer's Association criticised the scheme, because 'most SYETP employers are only interested in the low-range, under-19-year-olds and in many cases won't consider those over 17. So well over half the target group is largely unserviced by the scheme' (in O'Neill 1982, p. 18).

Also the Association claimed that 'a high number of SYETP vacancies fall into the low-skill, dead-end and/or high-turnover categories, such as cashiers, packers, clothing machinists and factory workers' (in O'Neill 1982, p. 18).

O'Neill gives a number of vignettes of cases that have been reported to the Unemployed Workers Union:

> 'Larry', 17, was placed through SYETP in a carpentry shop. He believed he was to be trained as a cabinet maker. The only training he received was hand-sanding, and he was dismissed after six weeks. He was not given notice and did not receive the obligatory one week's pay in lieu.
> 'Fran', 20, was employed in a restaurant. Her employer received the full subsidy, but only allowed her to work two or three hours a day. She was not paid award wages and left after six weeks. Five other SYETP trainees also worked, part time, for this restaurant.
>
> (O'Neill 1982, p. 18)

The scheme came under trenchant criticism from Mr R. J. Hawke, the then Shadow Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs, who claimed that only 11 000 full-time jobs for young workers were created between 1975 and 1981. Consequently the new Federal Labor Government intends to replace SYETP with a new Private Sector Assistance Program (Shears & Matthews 1983). For SYETP, in common with the other out-of-school schemes examined, has the basic policy thrust of preparing students for the hierarchical structure of the workplace. In doing this, it emphasises modifying the individual to fit in with the demands of industry. There is, in such a scheme, little experience in critical reflection, social negotiation, and the organisation of action (see Watkins 1982; Kemmis, Cole & Suggett 1983). However, for the present time the Labor Government has stated that SYETP will continue while a broad review of existing training and assistance programs is conducted to see whether or not they are compatible with government objectives.

In-school transition programs

In-school programs are largely disjointed and uncoordinated depending on the individual school's preferences and needs. These programs can encompass, for instance, consumer or transition education courses, careers education, local industrial excursions linked with geography, and formal work-experience programs. This section will concentrate on the operation of work-experience programs, as this is the most formalised program, with over 70 000 students in Victoria taking part in the scheme in 1983 (Education Department of Victoria, pers. comm.).

Work-experience

Work-experience in school relates to schemes whereby students leave the school environment for one or two weeks to work in various organisations. In Australia, and in Victoria in particular, work-experience schemes developed in the early 1970s. In 1970 there were nine schools in Victoria engaging in work-experience programs of some kind. However, by 1974, 84 schools in Victoria had implemented work-experience programs (Cole 1979, p. 33). In 1974, the Education (Work Experience) Act was passed, legalising and formalising the programs. An apparent consequence of this, coupled with increasingly poor economic and employment opportunities, was a leap in the numbers of schools participating in the scheme. By 1976, the number of schools engaging in work-experience programs had increased to 240. This further increased, so that by 1979, 524 schools engaged in work-experience during the school year. Over 80 per cent of the schools were state-run schools (*Advise* 1980, p. 3).

The student's remuneration for the period of work-experience can range from nothing (from a governmental or local service organisation) to $50 or more a week. Private employers must pay a minimum wage of $3 a day. This is mainly to satisfy the requirements for workers' compensation and a workers' compensation form has to be completed for each student and signed by the principal. To satisfy workers' compensation requirements when working for a service organisation, the students agree to donate any payment back to the organisation.

As the development of any particular policy involves a deliberate selection from a number of ideological positions, work-experience may be viewed in a number of ways. Firstly, during periods of high and persistent youth unemployment such schemes are seen by politicians, parents, and employers as likely correctors of the apparent mismatch between education and work. Secondly, for radical educators work-experience was initially seen as a form of praxis, of bringing education and productive labour into close harmony. Thus Freire (1978) cannot conceive education apart from work-experience. Yet in Victoria, as Nash puts it, 'what was introduced as an element in a radical reform of school curricula has been co-opted into the conservative mainstream of education' (1980, p. 20). For it was argued that work-experience developed a concern not so much for critical reflection and eventual transformation of the workplace but for maintenance of the prevailing work structure.

Thirdly, work-experience appeals to those members of society who see such schemes as a means to socialise the young to the workplace. For as Marland argues, 'not only does business find some applicants weak in basic skills, but in attitudes toward work, in self-discipline on the job, and in work habits such as grooming and promptness as well' (1974, p. 239).

As well as a means of socialising the young, work-experience has been seen as a means of inculcating the dominant ideology in the students. For, in developing a closer link between schools and the workplace, employers might not only shift school programs back to the basics in education and discipline, but work-experience 'would also give employers an excellent opportunity to promote the ideals of our private enterprise system' (*Victorian Employers' Report* 1981, p. 1).

In such a context, students undertaking work-experience are seen as passive agents. Student criticism and reflection is irrelevant and compromises the position that in such situations, the schemes are presented as valid educational activities. From this perspective a particular ideology of work is presented unquestioningly. Yet this neglects the actual political ethos of the workplace, where control is matched by contestation (see Watkins 1983a). For the prevalent perspective presents a top-down view of work. That is, the perspective entails the attitudes, values, and skills that the employer feels are desirable or that the students feel the employer desires. The stress is on the production of individual traits and habits that are suited to the workplace and which might impress a prospective employer sufficiently for him or her to offer a job. The program is seen in a vocational light where students are prepared and selected in a workplace, which is a structured system of inequalities. Consequently it serves a reproductive function, maintaining, reproducing, and legitimising current social, economic, and political structures by presenting them in an unquestioned, taken-for-granted setting.

Transition courses

Transition courses are also becoming popular in many secondary schools. For example, Christian Brothers College, Newburyport, as well as offering an extensive work-experience course (see Watkins 1983b), has also instituted a transition course at the Year 11 level. The transition course was commenced in 1981 for those students who were finding the traditional academic curriculum difficult to cope with. One of the aims was to acquaint students with the 'real' world of commercial activity, allowing them to develop their own authority structure and self-regulation. As Jim Karn, the co-ordinator, explained:

> In the transition we don't operate (in the traditional academic way). We very much have this self regulation and of course the strongest kid prevails. In the transition course the kid this year is David Ellis who is a big kid . . . they really meet us half way simply because we give them that authority.
> (unpublished transcript)

To the teachers and students, the philosophy behind the transition program seems to mirror more faithfully the 'real' world. In this context there is an allusion to the idea of social Darwinism, where it is the strongest and most ruthless who get on in contemporary capitalist society.

In this context it is claimed that the school is divorced from the 'real' cash basis of society. To counter this, one component of the transition course was structured around setting up a model company to do various jobs. The company was financed by each of the students, who put $5 of their own money into the business. This was also rationalised through one of the alleged principles of capitalism: that if 'you don't work hard and don't succeed you will lose your money'. In this context the students

> make the decision about what jobs to do. They are given basically three days a week off school. They actually quote the jobs and they have got to supply the materials. They have eight weeks and at the end of eight weeks we review the situation.
> (unpublished transcript)

The company is structured in the same manner as a typical corporate enterprise is seen to be set up. There is a managing director, who was the biggest, strongest boy, and the one with the most developed street knowledge, David Ellis; general manager; a company secretary; an accountant; a sales manager, etc. Under the guidance of these 'executives', the other transition students compete for jobs in the Newburyport area. Students make contact with prospective clients and submit a quotation for the job. The executive chooses the most suitable student to do the work. They then collect and bank the money, completing the accounting records and registering the profit.

The benefits the teachers saw were related to acquainting students to the machinations of the private enterprise system. And success is often achieved by 'kids some people perceive as not being achievers' (unpublished transcript). In contrast to the lack of success these transition students have in academic studies, the course indicates that in the business world, success is related to the way they 'run their own business or run a set of books or whatever' (unpublished transcript).

While such a transition course obviously has benefits to those students who have experienced continual failure through the academic curriculum of the school, there are also a number of dangers. First, it would seem that capitalist society is taken for granted. The economic and social structure of society is viewed uncritically with many questions unasked—why is society organised in this way; how did such a system evolve; why should there be a profit system at all; who gains and who loses? Second, it appears to reinforce the class basis of society, the idea being developed that there are those who own or control the means of production and workers who carry out their bidding. Third, there was developed a hierarchical corporate structure, which is perhaps at odds with the ideals of democratic and co-operative endeavours that provide the political rhetoric of our society. Thus by not having a critical and reflective content, transition courses can be perceived as a means of reproducing and legitimating current capitalist society.

Reflections on transition programs

The study of these transition programs indicates that the training carried out in transition programs is not concerned with the creation of new jobs or the elimination of technological gaps or deficiences in particular trades or occupations but, as the William's Report indicated, with politically training and socially integrating young people into the workplace, even if it might be for a very short time. The development of policy that has as its basis political socialisation is of great importance, because as Wolfe argues:

> A certain amount of politicization is required if the polity is to be accepted as legitimate, especially within the segments of the population from which elites will likely emerge. At the same time, for the rest of the population, passivity must be encouraged so that the state can be permitted to go about its functions of accumulation unimpeded by potential mobilization.
>
> (Wolfe 1977, p. 300)

The basic thrust of policies at which reforms relating to school-to-work transition aim is to inculcate a general cultural viewpoint in students, not changes in the economic and political environment. It is assumed by many that transition problems are related to behaviour and that the greatest potential for smoothing the move from school or unemployment to work is through changes in the young people. According to the logic behind such policy initiatives, the solution to the present economic difficulties lies not within the economic structure but in an improvement in student perception of the 'requirements' of the workplace. As these 'requirements' are taken for granted and presented as 'natural' to young people, the transition programs contribute to the legitimation of the existing workplace hegemony, for it would seem that many policy developers perceive the culture of the workplace as 'neutral' and 'normal' hand accept that what in fact are economic and politically induced conditions can be solved by reforms acting on youth.

A second response to the development of youth transition programs is to view them as holding, or storage, devices that are concerned with absorbing the young unemployed. Thus a basic thrust of policy may be seen as keeping young people off the streets and usefully occupied. The

Government is seen as active and caring, while not interfering or changing the basic structure of capitalist society. In turn, educators and policy makers can also point at something concrete being done as a response to youth unemployment.

It is evident, then, that these programs have a tendency to focus on training and storing young people, rather than on providing permanent employment. But if their training function often appears less than successful, their storage function appears to work quite well. For simply by enrolling young people, these schemes reduce both the visible signs of youth unemployment and the unemployment rate (with the exception of CYSS). If they do nothing else, these employment and training programs provide places for thousands of young people who are no longer in school, but who have not yet broken into the labour-market.

From this perspective it would seem that public support has been readily forthcoming for solutions involving schooling and extensions of schooling, rather than strong and determined interventions in the labour-market. For in times of crisis and uncertainty, the solution of unemployment problems through schooling and training schemes is considered a more reassuring path than radical intervention in, and reform of, the political and economic structure.

A third criticism of transition programs is that, due to their diverse background, there appears to be little co-ordination between them. EPUY is run through TAFE, CES, and the Department of Education and Youth Affairs; CYSS is run through the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations; SYETP is run through the Department of Employment and Industrial Affairs and CES; while work-experience programs are operated independently through the schools. Through such a wide spectrum most government departments at both state and federal level have some interest in policies relating to youth transition. Shears & Matthews (1983) found in their study that there is no high level of co-ordination between different programs operated by the Federal Government. Programs relating to education and training such as SYETP, School to Work Transition, and EPUY are not well co-ordinated with one another. These in turn are not linked effectively with youth support schemes such as CYSS.

The lack of co-ordination between policy initiatives and development at the federal level is also evident at the federal–state level. As Shears and Matthews point out, 'a lack of coordination exists . . . between state and federal initiatives and a lack of clarity as to their respective responsibilities' (1983, p. 104). And the 'ad hoc nature of federal and state initiatives in different sectors militates against effective coordination at the regional and local level' (Shears & Matthews 1983, p. 104). They recommend that both the federal and state governments should establish a national committee on youth policy. This should be made up of people from both state and federal levels and from government and non-government sectors, who would make recommendations and formulate policy to both state and federal governments on matters affecting youth.

A fourth problem relates to the often sharp disjuncture between the initial policy rhetoric and the ground-level implementation of the schemes. For example work-experience was initially couched in terms of a radical and critical examination of the workplace and society. However, the eventual ground-level meaning of the programs was eventually seen as designed to socialise young people to the dominant values, ethos, and morality, which pervade the workplace. As we noted earlier in this monograph a similar occurrence eventuated with EPUY (Freeland 1981). Thus at the actual level of practice the original philosophy might be effectively undermined. This trend has been observed by Cole, who saw the original critical examination of society on which work-experience was based being replaced by an exploitative vocationalism. As he argues,

> there is evidence to indicate that there are program co-ordinators who condone the exploitation of their students by employers and there are others who turn a blind eye to employers who use work experience students week after week in order to cover labour shortages.
>
> (Cole 1981, p. 6)

Such counteractive developments should be seen as a form of contestation. Thus most transition programs have elements within them that are liable to be contested by powerful groups in society. These elements may be met with open or hidden, immediate or delayed, suspicion and resistance. Resistance in this context, however, often takes the form of conversion, transformation, and co-option, where the basic ideological form of the program is reinterpreted. This process has also been noted by Popkewitz, who, when discussing the introduction of a new curriculum into Swedish schools, wrote:

> The new curriculum was intended to provide forms of individualisation to deal with individual differences and variety; teachers redefined that interest to conform to old expectations. They omitted parts of the curriculum, lowered goals and formed remediation groups . . . The comprehensive school plan to create a series of options for teachers and students did not materialise.
>
> (Popkewitz 1983, p. 17)

These examples illustrate the ways in which transition programs and other curriculum innovations not only may be incorporated into the prevailing and dominant stock of social knowledge but also act to legitimate a particular 'common-sense' view of the world. But while they may be co-opted and domesticated to the needs of capital, these programs still possess contradictory elements. These elements, containing seeds of contestation and resistance, have the ability to transfer both the participants' perception of the world and the direction along which programs develop. Thus it would be simplistic and reductionist to view transition programs as monolithic, concretised devices manipulating an unquestioning youth into the workplace.

In such a scenario, the students take on the posture of idealised workers, who do not question the prevailing social relations, the distribution of extrinsic rewards, or the kinds and distribution of power. But as Perrow (1978) explains, such a view of the workplace and workers in it is a happy mystification of reality that reflects 'a passion for giving accounts, for believing in order, for justifying behavior, for escaping the actual turbulence of social systems that are created anew each moment by all actors in the system' (1978, p. 117).

Through coming into direct contact with the workplace, students in transition programs can view at first hand the degree of contestation that occurs at work. For the workplace that youth experience is not a uniform rational place embodying uniform goals and aims, because many workers are not fully integrated into the wage labour system, and are prepared to uphold their own interests against those of capital.

Watkins's (1982) research of a Year 11 work-experience group indicates that even during the two weeks of the program much industrial activity is perceived by students. One student related, 'Well, like there was a strike . . . there. No, they all just sort of couldn't; like they had to work funny hours and they just didn't like that and they sort of said, "Look we can't take this any longer, we're all going on strike" ' (in Watkins 1982, p. 236). Moreover, experience at work enables students to reflect on jobs that they were considering doing. This reflection often produces a more critical view of work and the social relations of production. Such a view was clearly put by another student after work-experience at a large transnational when he stated:

> People have got their ideas of what a job is like and until they try it they're not really ever going to know what it is like . . . Work-experience showed me that people are working . . . for really not much and I didn't really understand why they'd work there . . . cause conditions weren't that good, really.
>
> (in Watkins 1982, p. 221)

Even though the students experience full-time work for only a few weeks, some understanding of the nature of the work process, the distribution of rewards, the hierarchy of power, and the social relations of production is presented to them. From this point they can reflect and query 'Just what is going on here?'.

Sharp (1982), in a perceptive reply to Wexler (1982) endorses this position. She sees the acquaintance of young people with the world of work as vital in the development of a radical pedagogy. As she puts it,

> the movement toward work experience in schools, for example, throws up exciting curriculum possibilities. The class dimensions of the workplace, its sexual and ethnic divisions, its hierarchies, the social impact of technology, and the labor process itself are all easier to discuss when students have direct experience of everyday labor routines.
>
> (Sharp 1982, pp. 74–5)

During such transition programs the contradictions of work are exposed, and thus may serve to undermine the existing social relations of work by revealing both the contestation and the sharp 'reality' of the workplace. Consequently, while experiencing these programs, students not only learn 'correct' work habits, values and attitudes in submitting to the hegemony of capital, but also see the contradictions inherent in the workplace. For, as Apple argues,

> rather than the labor process being totally controlled by management, rather than hard-and-fast structures of authority and norms of punctuality and compliance, one sees a complex work culture. This very work culture provides important grounds for worker resistance, collective action, informal control of pacing and skill, and reasserting one's humanity . . . men and women workers seem engaged in overt and informal activity that is somehow missed when we talk only in reproductive terms.
>
> (Apple 1980, pp. 59–60)

Thus, although during transition programs there may be some degree of agreement with the dominant view of the workplace, this agreement is modified by, and co-exists with, the underlying readiness to organise and resist if a breaking-point in the work structure is reached.

Future policy directions

It has been argued in this monograph that the development of a social policy relating to youth and work requires constant choices among types of values, circumstances, clients, methods, and degrees of intervention. At a deeper level are the more pertinent questions of who is to be blamed for the problems associated with young people and their entry into the workplace. Should the individual be blamed and modified in some way? Or, on the other hand, should the blame be directed at society and should it be modified in some way?

The policy response of the Fraser Government, as discussed in this monograph, was to blame the individual. Through its policy choices the Government decided it was either too difficult or ideologically unacceptable to change or transform the labour process to suit the young people leaving school. Consequently, the policy alternative became that of educating and training youth so that they might fit, if a job were available, into the existing structure of industry. This reflects the proposition that the development of transition programs cannot be isolated from the broader political and social movements that exist within a society. Rather they should be seen as an integral part of the encompassing political economy prevailing in Australia.

In their basic form the transition programs that have been described assume that employment opportunities do exist for those who have received the correct training. But if, as has been argued, this is a false assumption, a fresh approach to policy development relating to youth and work is needed. The human-capital approach of modifying youth through education and skill training will not increase the number of jobs in the economy.

For, as Levin puts it,

> youth unemployment is not primarily an educational problem, education and training must be viewed as a part of the solution rather than its core. Rather, job creation and increased employment for the economy as a whole are the necessary conditions for addressing youth unemployment . . . For, whatever the justification is of providing additional knowledge about the working world and further work experience or training, these devices do not address the fundamental issue of inadequate employment opportunities. There will be no solution to the problem of youth unemployment without more jobs, and little improvement is likely in the relatively high turnover of youth among existing jobs without greater job challenges and more opportunities for career growth rather than dead-end jobs.
>
> (Levin 1983, p. 244)

The answer, then, does not lie in a narrow vocational training focus, partly because there is unlikely to be a job available in which to practice the skills that are learnt, and partly because, with rapidly changing technology, the skills so imparted are likely to become quickly valueless. Thus in some way these courses serve to obscure and misrepresent the real reasons for unemployment. However, if they are to continue, they must present a critical perspective of work and the predicament of youth. Watkins (1982) and Sharp (1982) have indicated the counter-hegemonic contradictions within work-experience whilst Freeland (1982, 1983b) has written of similar manifestations within the CYSS program. Transition policy should concern itself with giving young people a more reflective and critical perspective of the world.

When discussing citizenship education, Giroux (1980) has put forward a number of ways that an emancipatory practice might be achieved in transition programs:

> First, the active nature of students' participation in the learning process must be stressed ... Knowledge must not only be made problematic, stripped of its objective pretensions, it must also be defined through the social mediations and roles that provide the context for its meaning and distribution ...
>
> Second, students must be taught to think critically ... Facts, concepts, issues, and ideas must be seen within the network of connections that give them meaning ...
>
> Third, the development of a critical mode of reasoning must be used so as to enable students to appropriate their own histories ... A critical pedagogy must draw upon the cultural capital that students bring to the classroom.
>
> Fourth, students must learn not only to clarify values, they must also learn why certain values are indispensable to the reproduction of human life ... They must also learn how values are embedded in the very texture of human life, how they are transmitted, and what interests they support ...
>
> Fifth, students must learn about the structural and ideological forces that influence and restrict their lives.
>
> (Giroux 1980, pp. 358–9)

Through providing a critical foundation to such a reorientation of transition policy, the basis for any criticisms that transition programs are essentially concerned with making school-leavers attuned to the demands of industry would be reduced (Freeland 1981).

A more substantial change in policy would involve the creation of new job avenues and career paths. This would mean in many cases the removal of the credentialling gate-keeping mechanisms that at present exclude many young people from entering many occupations. Polk (1983) has suggested that policies formulating the creation of jobs might set in motion conditions whereby youth may enter 'new careers' without the need of credentials.

He argues, for example, that a separate track might be created for those wishing to become teachers, but who have not been successful in gaining school credentials. Young people might first be employed in fairly low-skill tutoring tasks. If successful in these tasks, they could then be promoted to a teacher aide. With more experience and the development of skills on the job they could become a teacher assistant. In this position they would perform many of the functions of the qualified teacher but mostly under supervision. After further experience and training through in-service programs and tertiary institutions, the person could become a qualified teacher.

Polk puts the case that in many tertiary and service occupations such as law, engineering, electronics, computing, and para-medicine, young people now barred by the lack of credentials could find and set out on a meaningful career path. Such step-by-step career lines would allow young people to break out of the low-skill dead-end service jobs or unemployment, which many seem destined for, and to embark on an occupation where progressive upward promotion is possible.

A further change in policy direction would stress the need for more jobs, possibly through the development of democratic, small worker co-operatives producing socially useful goods. Davidson (1983) suggests that such an alternative policy approach would entail making small capital loans or grants to the unemployed youth to set up small businesses. He envisages that local community groups, comprising retired businessmen, bankers, or accountants, would provide the expertise to make these small-scale enterprises successful. Through the expenditure of a modest amount of money (he suggests $8 500), a number of new small businesses satisfying a real demand within the Australian market could eventuate.

Brockington & White (1983) also advocate such an alternative job formation policy in Britain. They argue that small co-operative productive units are becoming increasingly viable. This is because the trend in capitalism is for ever-larger units to evolve through economies of scale and homogeneity of supplies and products. As these corporations become excessively large, many markets are left because their size is too small and the profit margin too low for the large corporations. This leaves a vacuum, which many much smaller firms could occupy. In addition, in these areas, the local community may see additional benefits in helping young people from whom society has already exacted a crippling social and personal toll.

It is in this context that the authors have initiated local projects aimed at encouraging young people and adults to promote and initiate their own collective self-employment schemes. These are linked to the Unesco Participation Programme, which connects work and education initiatives. These initiatives are being taken, in one instance, in a high youth-unemployment, working-class area in a housing estate just out of Bristol. Here youth are encouraged and advised to partake in self-help business schemes. In this way Brockington and White argue, 'the establishment of enterprises can be achieved through the collective effort of those who would otherwise be left to isolated endeavour, and produce benefits in a way that is not simply about creation of wealth for the individual' (Brockington & White 1983, p. 81).

Rumberger (1982) and Levin (1983) also suggest that self-employment in youth producer co-operatives may be a fruitful opportunity not only to give young people democratically organised work but also to restore their self-esteem. These co-operatives would be both owned and democratically managed by their workers. Levin (1983) suggests that half to two-thirds of the positions in the co-operatives should be given to workers under the age of 25. The older workers would create a stable core, which would provide some guidance to the concern. The self-employment of young people in productive units with their qualitatively new working relationships would help to develop new attachments and attitudes, because all would share in the success of the co-operative.

There should be major policy movements in this direction. The problems relating to youth and work are not caused by a lack of education or training. The problems are due to the lack of work and job-creation initiatives. For while transition programs may perform some useful functions, their effect is only peripheral to the problem of youth unemployment. They may, indeed, on the one hand, socialise young people to the demands of industry, or, on the other hand, illustrate the contradictions, contestations, and class dimensions of the workplace—but the basic issue of the provision of more job opportunities is not addressed.

However, the formation of co-operative productive units *can* provide the opportunity for policy developers to promote a more democratic society through these programs. Consequently, they cannot limit themselves to a technical problem-solving approach. For the development of policy to create work units would also include action in organising youth in practical, collaborative, democratic discussions in which young people are truly represented and have the opportunity to make a worthwhile contribution to the policies that might so drastically affect them.

Summary

This monograph has examined the problems associated with youth, schooling, and work. It was argued that in formulating a policy on these matters, policy developers have a choice of competing values and ideologies with respect to the particular direction they will take.

The development of transition policy was looked at in relation to the Williams and Myers Reports. Here it was argued that the development of technology was uncritically regarded in only a positive sense. Any problems arising from stuctural dislocation of the economy, according to the Reports, could be rectified by a closer link between youth, schooling, and the workplace. These Reports were put in their economic and social context by examining the arguments of O'Connor (1973, 1981) on the development of the 'fiscal crisis of the state' and through the work of Habermas (1976) on 'the legitimation crisis'.

In response to these crises, it was argued that the policy action initiated by the Fraser Government was an attempt to modify young people to the requirements of the workplace, regardless of whether there were sufficient jobs or not. The effect, often, is for young people to go from unemployment program to unemployment program. In this way unemployment is recycled amongst young people. But it would be reductionist to argue that these schemes are totally effective in their socialising of young people to the workplace. Through observing and participating in the workplace, they can note the contradictions that are evident in the world of work.

Finally it was argued that these programs should not only stress the benefits of certain dispositions but should also foster a critical approach to the organisation of work. But more importantly, it was argued that jobs have to be provided for the unemployed. It was suggested that the development of democratic co-operatives in suitable niches in the economy might be the best policy direction. These co-operatives would not only provide meaningful work for young people but would also educate them in democratic structures and procedures.

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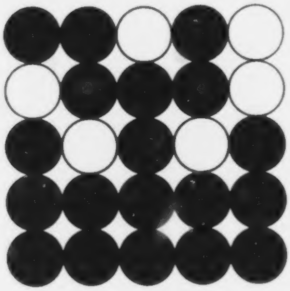

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The Williams Report on education, training and employment: The decline and fall of Karmelot

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The terms of reference set for the Williams Committee of Inquiry into Education, Training and Employment, which reported in February 1979, were to undertake a review of the provision of educational facilities and services in Australia for the next twenty years, with regard to significant changes occurring or likely to occur in the social and economic structure. The Committee was asked to look at the relationship between the different levels and sectors of the system as they had evolved over time and to make specific recommendations concerning the functioning and effectiveness of the whole system in relation to community and individual needs. In particular, its advice was sought on the question of the relationship between education and the labour market and the adequacy of employment preparation being provided within the various educational institutions and elsewhere.

In the course of its deliberations the Committee was asked to "have regard to the Government's objectives, including widening educational opportunity, expanding educational and occupational choice, developing quality and excellence in education and encouraging community participation in education and training matters" (Williams Report, Vol. 1: 3). Thus the assumption that the ideals of liberal education are inherently compatible with the demands of education for the labour market is embedded in the Committee's terms of reference. This assumption is uncritically reiterated in the Report (Vol. 1: 740).

The Committee had also to "take as given and not consider in detail the arrangements for funding and co-ordinating post-secondary education agreed between the State and Commonwealth Governments, except insofar as such consideration is essential to the main theme" (Vol. 1: 3). This rider had the effect of imposing the criterion of efficiency on all the Committee's deliberations. Given the composition of the Committee, obviously selected with a view to an endorsement of the Government's perspectives, as well as to the need for a degree of "democratic" representativeness, one might think such precautionary prescriptions were unnecessary![1]

Summarising, the Committee (hereafter referred to as Williams) endorsed the existing hierarchical pattern of relationships between the various sectors which had been developed as a result of the Murray and Martin Reports. The universities should expand only slowly and continue to turn out a small number of highly trained technological and scientific innovators, people with specialist managerial and administrative skills and knowledge destined for senior positions in the public service, industry and commerce; and they should increase their emphasis on research and postgraduate studies. On the second rung, the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAE's) should be subject to more rationalising and streamlining and should provide the intermediate strata of vocationally trained innovators and technocrats while being much less concerned with pure research. Technical and Further Education (TAFE), the third rung of post-secondary education, should be considerably expanded to provide large numbers of semi-skilled and skilled people with appropriate training and necessary work oriented attitudes. Further the TAFE sector should act as the main absorber of unemployment as the labour market expands and contracts.

The secondary school system should, according to Williams, service the post-secondary sector by continuing its general education programme, but it should simultaneously become more vocationally oriented and relevant. Attempts should also be made to develop closer links between the secondary schools, TAFE, and the expanding range of transitional (from school to work) programmes and institutions. The framework as a whole would be dynamic and flexible in relationship to the changes in the economic and social structure.

In this article we will first provide a brief account of the context in which the Report was commissioned and presented. This will be followed by a section which offers a summary and preliminary critique of the Report with an emphasis on the Report's presentation of the economic and educational ideologies of quality and efficiency; the Report's analysis of the present recession; and the Committee's response to the problems of youth unemployment and school to work transition. There will then be an analysis of the State's orchestration of the ongoing restructuring of schooling as a response to changed demands on the education system. Finally, there will be an analysis of developments since the Report was tabled and some suggestions for a Left response to the restructuring.

THE CONTEXT OF THE REPORT

The Williams Report was produced under vastly different circumstances from the three earlier major Commonwealth Government education reports – the Murray Report in 1957, the Martin Report in 1964, and the Karmel Report in 1973 – and as a consequence its function must be quite different. The three earlier reports were a product of the long post-war boom and the Commonwealth Government's expanding responsibility for educational provision. The Murray Report paved the way for the Commonwealth's move into university education, the major aim being the production of a highly trained and skilled "professional" elite. As a consequence university enrolments grew from 26,153 in 1957 to 78,825 in 1967 and 127,358 in 1977; a growth which not only reflected an expanding population but also an increase in the proportion of 17-22 year olds enrolled in universities – from 3.5% in 1946 to 7.2% in 1966 and 9.5% in 1977 (*Williams Report*, Vol. 1: 15).

The Martin Report did for CAE education what Murray had done for the universities. The underlying objective of the CAE expansion was to provide increasing numbers of middle order "professionals" with a greater emphasis on practical, labour market related skills than on "pure" study and research. The Martin Report estimated that about 5% of 17 to 22 year olds were enrolled in non-university tertiary training in 1963 and this proportion grew to 9.6% (140,312) in CAEs in 1977 (*Williams Report*, Vol. 1: 18). This expansion coincided with, from 1973, the integration of the teachers colleges into the CAE sector and thus the granting of institutional autonomy to the teachers colleges – a move which was in accord with the then increasingly liberal approach to education in general (see *Teacher Education in Queensland [Murphy Report]*, 1971: 56).

In the early seventies a particular coincidence of economic, political and ideological forces produced what has been called the "social democratic settlement" in educational provision.[2] Among these forces were: economic buoyancy and optimism and a concomitant belief in upward social mobility being a possibility for all; a growth in the licensed autonomy of educational systems and institutions and through decentralization, a change in the form of political control; a social democratic concern for equality of opportunity; and the influence of progressive education. This was the context which saw in 1973 the publication of the Karmel Report (*Schools in Australia*) and the establishment of the Australian Schools Commission – a move which simultaneously heralded the Commonwealth Government's major push into the arena of pre-tertiary education. Public expenditure (both Federal and State) on schools increased from $509m in 1967-68 to $2906m in 1976-77, an increase which was faster than the increase in gross domestic product and greater than would be anticipated from increases in the school age population. Class sizes were reduced, specialist teachers employed, special programmes for disadvantaged groups (blacks, migrants, women, inner city and remote area students) were started, curriculum projects were developed under the auspices of the national Curriculum Development Centre, and funding was provided for school and community based educational innovations. These moves were paralleled in the various States with, for example, Queensland abolishing all external assessment and Western Australia abolishing school inspections.[3]

In short, the prevailing view in the first half of the seventies was that the resources were available to forge the idealised social democratic society and that formal education was a powerful tool in the project of forging that society. In that task the major educational tenets were, as expressed in the *Karmel Report*, devolution of responsibility, equality, diversity (both within the public sector and between the public and private sectors), community involvement and recurrent education.

The collapse of the long boom and the onset of recession changed all that. However, partly as a result of the Federal system, there has not been any single event to mark the end of the "golden days of Karmelot". The conservative Australian Council of Educational Standards was set up in 1973 and led the attack on progressive education and "declining standards".[4] The cry was quickly taken up by the captains of industry as youth unemployment grew and more selective criteria for employment could be imposed. Media campaigns developed and, in turn, fed the rash of attacks on all levels of schooling. The central issue providing substance and credibility for the attacks was rising youth unemployment – the mismatch between school and work.

The Australian Education Council (the Commonwealth and State Ministers for Education) had earlier recognised the problem and in March 1974 set up a working party involving representatives of secondary and further education, Departments of Labour, Industry, Commerce, the public service, trade unions and parents to study and report "on the existence and nature of a 'vocational gap' and, if it has significant existence, means by which it might be closed" (Report of the Working Party, *Transition from Secondary Education to Employment*, Canberra, AGPS, 1976). The working party's Report, presented in June 1976, recognised the "negative effects of unemployment on the formation of constructive work habits and attitudes" and that the "education systems have no control over the labour market situation and (that) they cannot by themselves correct the social problems which arise from unemployment" (p. 116). The working party's recommendations revolved around extension of careers and vocational education, work experience programmes, special programmes for disadvantaged groups, an upgrading of basic skills education and an expansion of re-education and re-training programmes. The participation of parents, students, schools, employers, unions and Government's representatives in all programme planning and implementation was encouraged. In conjunction with these proposals the Report urged that further initiatives be taken outside the school system: "deliberate job creation policies . . . pre-employment training through youth and community service agencies, and training for unemployment as is done in some overseas countries, through community health and related agencies, to assist the youthful unemployed to adjust to their situation and to lessen the risks of their demoralisation and personal deterioration" (p. 117).

Thus from June 1976 the pattern of official policy recommendations with regard to school/work transition and youth employment was set. The emphasis was and still is on skill and attitude training, careers and vocational education and the development of transition and retraining programmes. It was in this environment that the decision to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training was made in September 1976. The Committee could look at the relationship between secondary schooling, the three tiers of tertiary schooling and the labour market and recommend changes or adjustments to their respective roles in labour force preparation, but it could not expect to direct the broad governmental response to youth unemployment and the growing dislocation between school and work. The proliferation of reports relating to the specifics of youth unemployment policy and modification of specific sectors of education in the various states[5] has and is dealing with the mechanics of educational adjustment. All the Federal transitional programmes existed before the Williams Committee reported.[6] Similarly, all the State Education Departments had set in motion moves to introduce and/or upgrade careers and vocational education, work experience programmes and special youth training programmes.[7]

If the real significance of the Williams Report is to be unearthed, it is essential to look beyond this institutional response to the dislocation in the school to work transition. Its significance rather is to be found in the broader issues of the crisis of capital in Australia and the role of the state in response to that crisis. As we shall argue, against the background of the restructuring of Australian capitalism, Williams serves to legitimate the destruction of the brief social democratic settlement and define a new set of guidelines for the legitimate discussion of schooling in Australia. The central thrust of our argument will be that whereas the three earlier major Federal reports on education (Murray, Martin and Karmel) played a central role in the formation and implementation of Commonwealth educational policies, the Williams Report has played no such role. We shall argue that the Report is primarily an ideological document, legitimating policy decisions made prior to the date of publication. The Report served that function by developing an argument, based on conservative economic theory and demographic analysis, which sought to place efficiency and quality as the central concerns in the debate about education. In so doing the Committee negated the central concerns of the Karmel Report: equality, devolution of responsibility, diversity and community involvement; and concomitantly supported moves to more closely align schooling with the world of work.

THE WILLIAMS REPORT: SUMMARY AND PRELIMINARY CRITIQUE

Education and the Economy: the search for Efficiency and Quality

The Committee accepted as a starting point the reality that the long post-war boom is at an end. That boom both permitted and required a huge expansion of educational facilities from the mid 1950's to the early 1970's. This resulted in steadily increasing proportions of GDP being allocated to education. The recession has put an end to that growth and, according to the Report, economic and demographic factors now dictate a period of consolidation and slow evolution in education. From this prognosis springs a concern to ensure the provision of a quality education as efficiently as possible. In themselves these aims are not objectionable. However, when placed in the context of recent government moves relating to education, and effected under the banners of quality and efficiency, grounds for concern do exist. In other words, the ways in which quality and efficiency are defined and pursued by the Report and government respectively, represent a concerted attack on social democratic educational ideology and practice.

The theoretical justification for this thrust is grounded by the Committee in economic theory. Keynesian economics is rejected and there is a reversion to classical political economy with an invocation of Adam Smith, and to neo-classical marginal productivity theory. Smith's proposition that "division of labour and specialisation add to the productivity of human labour" is used to justify the retention of an hierarchically differentiated and specialised tertiary education provision: efficiency (productivity) equals an elitist schooling provision. Simultaneously Smith's proposition that "the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market" is quoted as justification for the limitation of course offerings in regional tertiary institutions (Vol. 1:761). Marginal productivity theory underlies the Report's concern for the production function of education and the allocative and cost effectiveness of educational expenditure. Education at all levels should be monitored to ensure the maximum output, in terms of human capital, and to minimise wastage. Throughout the Report there is an invocation of the market forces' capacity to efficiently allocate available labour power and to indicate the most appropriate distribution of educational opportunities. Hence the Report's concern for more effective means of labour power planning and the Committee's flirtation with the idea of educational vouchers and accountability.

The success of such propositions depends, to a large extent, on the ability to define a precise set of educational functions, and to define them in a manner which makes them amenable to quantification. Thus we find a list of five educational functions:

> *The primary function is . . . the development of the mental and affective capacities of individuals . . . (and) is therefore individualistic . . . A second function of education – education and training for specific occupations – is sometimes contrasted with the liberal education said to be required for the first function. However . . . there is not a necessary contrast between liberal and vocational education . . . A third function of education is . . . to cultivate the personal values that are required for a good society – honesty, a sense of fair play and a willingness to contribute a fair share of effort, respect for others and consideration for the less fortunate – and a basic understanding of the nature of society. . . . A further function of education is to promote social mobility . . . A fifth function . . . is to advance learning through scholarship and research (Vol. 1: 739-741).*

The question then becomes how are these functions quantified? Hence the Committee's concern:

> *That Ministers for Education initiate public debates and through systematic consultation with community and business groups clarify the general objectives of schools and then set reasonable limits.*
>
> *That schools then develop their specific objectives in realistic and understandable terms, and plan to reach their objectives in ways appropriate to the range of abilities and backgrounds of their students.*
>
> *That schools accept that they are accountable for achieving these objectives . . . (Vol. 1: 127).*

In line with these recommendations the Committee recommended that the Australian Education Council fund an Australian Council for Educational Research study:

> *to specify minimum acceptable performance levels in basic skills for particular groups;*
>
> *to specify a range of performance levels to be expected of pupils of varying abilities at particular age levels so that the objective is not confined to the minima; and*
>
> *to develop appropriate testing devices to enable schools – and on occasion the nation – to check achievement without imposing a straight-jacket on schools (Vol. 1: 128).*

Once the objectives are set the various educational institution's performance can be evaluated – the twin testing criteria being *quality*, "a degree of excellence" (Vol. 1: 783), and *efficiency*, "the degree of effectiveness with which something is done" (Vol. 1: 785). From these criteria emerge the Committee's concern for the quality and appropriateness of teacher training (Vol. 1: 126, 128, 200, 280 & 331): the development of appropriate teaching materials (e.g. skill modules in TAFE): reducing the failure rates in tertiary institutions (Vol. 1: 192-193; 198-200 and 276-277): and the concern that tertiary education provision be rationalised to provide a minimum financial wastage. The Committee recognised that the pursuit of quality and efficiency in schooling is not as easy as the "identify", "impose" and "evaluate" processes listed above and it recognised that there exists disagreement about both the functions and objectives of educational provision and the mix of the various elements. However, it did make the specific recommendations which go a long way towards the identification and imposition of a set of rigid educational objectives.[8]

Williams proposes a number of ways of allocating educational resources in a more efficient manner to produce the desired goals. There needs to be a more rationalised relationship between the various institutions and a greater emphasis on accountability, avoidance of unnecessary overlap or duplication of facilities. There should, for example, be a greater resort to educational contracting to minimise staff requirements, maximise staff output and to avoid unnecessary duplication (Vol. 1: 79-80; 183-188; 204-206; 244-250; 267-276; and 768-782). Similarly, the concern for efficiency and non-duplication of resources inspired recommendations relating to the development of State-wide library services for schools, TAFE and CAEs (557-563 and 571-573). All these proposals necessitate more effective planning and control structures to ensure an efficient service delivery system to cater for evolving social and individual needs. There should therefore be greater cooperation between the various State, Federal and private planning institutions, and an upgraded research programme. This upgrading of research should be primarily the responsibility of universities and should be directed towards issues of educational planning and evaluation as they relate to programme development and monitoring, and to boost Australia's stake in the economic, employment and social benefits of technological innovation and development.

This concern for streamlining and efficiency, and for retaining the basic hierarchical structures would appear to be a fairly blatant recognition and endorsement of education for inequality – and education provision geared to the extended reproduction of inequalities and oppression based on class, sex, race and ethnicity. Williams, however, see it otherwise:

> *. . . since liberal education involves a general enlarging of the mind beyond the merely professional and technical there is not a necessary contrast between liberal and vocational education (Vol. 1: 740).*

In fact, Chapter 11 of the Report deals with the question of access to education for all disadvantaged groups: women, inner city working class children, ethnic minorities, blacks, remote area children and the mentally and physically handicapped. The Report's recommendations concerning these groups generally endorse the social democratic definition of equality of opportunity as developed in the *Karmel Report* and support the continuation of some forms of positive discrimination. Thus Williams endorses the meritocratic ideology and emmeshes it in the rhetoric of liberalism. Their view of society and the function of education leads them to see education as a means of 'helping individuals adjust to social change' rather than as part of a process of 'empowering a collectivity to change society'.

THE REPORT'S ANALYSIS OF THE RECESSION

Williams sess the current recession as part of the long term cycle of booms and recessions which have been facts of life of all Western economies since the beginning of the industrial era. It is characterised by its surface manifestations, lower expansion of GNP, reduced investment and profit levels, comparatively high rates of unemployment (some of which is structural rather than cyclical), and a potential for runaway inflation. Only a strict monetarist policy and reduced government spending can control and resolve these problems. Inflation is the key factor in the analysis of the present recession. Despite an apparent agnosticism regarding demand pull and cost push explanations of inflation, Williams invokes the latter and stresses higher industrial costs of raw materials, energy and wages, coupled with an excessive growth in the money supply and in government spending as the major causes of inflation and hence of the recession.

Nevertheless, despite the recognition of a much slower rate of expansion in the economy in the foreseeable future, Williams is basically optimistic. No major structural problems in the system exist which good sense, sound government and careful housekeeping cannot resolve. The Australian economy is fundamentally sound. Economic growth and improved standards of living, albeit rising more slowly than previously, will prevail as technological development proceeds and international trade expands. Whilst conceding that technological development and the industrialisation of South East Asia have produced some structural dislocations in the employment market, especially affecting the manufacturing sector, and that Australia's economic future is affected by the patterns of growth and government trading policies of other economies, Williams nevertheless maintains "healthy" optimism. Through enlightened government policy and flexibility all will be well. The modernisation of South East Asia, for example, augurs well for Australia. The law of comparative advantage will prevail, some structural readjustments will be necessary here and there, but exports can only rise as the Asian economies develop and Australian entrepreneurs seize the opportunities which such modernisation opens up.

This optimism is illustrated in the discussion of technology and technical change which is central to many of the Committee's recommendations. The Report's view is that whilst technical change in the short run displaces labour, in the long run it always leads to higher levels of employment. New products are generated which increase employment, old products are cheapened, thereby adding to demand, labour saving technology gives rise to new forms of skill requirements. Thus "the effect of technological progress taken overall has been to increase rather than reduce the number of jobs" (Vol. 3, p. 52). The thirties again provides the precedent. Nevertheless, technical change does lead to periods where there is a dislocation between the supply and demand for different types of labour, as in the present recession. Structural shifts have occurred in the employment market which require some readjustment, especially in such areas as the educational system which has, as one of its main functions, the preparation for employment.[9]

Whilst the Report's analysis of the recession and its basic assumptions regarding Australia's likely economic future in the world fit in with the broad outlines of the policy strategy envisaged by Crawford, Harries, etc., there is no real understanding of the limitations of this strategy in relation to the fundamental structural transformation occurring in the world international division of labour. For example, an adequate treatment of technological development and technological unemployment would have to be based upon a consideration of Australia's dependence on imported technology from the metropolitan centres. The employment benefits emanating from the new forms of technology do not necessarily accrue to those capitalist economies like Australia, South Africa and Canada which have a semi-peripheral status. Similarly, there is no discussion of the degree of foreign ownership over the key sectors of the economy and the implications of the internationalisation of capital for the strategy being orchestrated by the state.

UNEMPLOYMENT, SCHOOLING AND TRAINING

The Committee argues that whilst the educational system itself cannot be blamed for rising levels of unemployment, especially among youth, some more appropriate realignment of the system is called for, to cater for the new set of conditions which now prevail. Whilst the main pattern of educational provision requires no fundamental structural transformation, a greater rationaliation and streamlining of the system would enable it to prepare young people more effectively for their future employment roles, as well as facilitate a responsiveness to changing community needs.

To achieve these objectives, Williams recommends a greater stress on vocational training and careers guidance in the schools, and reiterates the importance of upgrading literacy and numeracy, and improving standards of discipline, which are a precondition of employability and appropriate work attitudes. Closer attention in the curriculum to the transition between school and work should be encouraged, through work orientation programmes, industrial experience for teaching personnel, etc. Recommendations such as these are supported by reference to the numerous complaints of employers and others concerning declining educational standards and the need to take measures to enhance the employability of school leavers. Recognising, however, the structural nature of youth unemployment and changes in the demand for skills of various kinds, Williams advocates a shift in educational resources towards the TAFE sector which requires modernisation and regarding and a more efficient system of planning and organisation than hitherto There will be a need for many more places and courses in the TAFE institutions so that workers, especially the young, affected by technological change and subject to deskilling, can upgrade their qualifications and improve their employability. A more careful monitoring and accrediting of courses is required, with a move towards greater centralisation of decision making and more effective teaching and evaluation methods.

Significant changes in the system of industrial training are advocated. The Report places less stress on the older system of apprenticeship and specific craft training and favours a more flexible system of generalised pre-vocational trade training based on a closer coordination between employer demands and educational requirements. New courses and new schemes of training need to be devised which take account of current technological changes and their implications for the labour market. Bridging, remedial, recurrent and retraining courses should be provided at a variety of levels, together with flexible movement possibilities for both staff and students to reduce student attrition rates, maximise talent and opportunity, economise on staff talent and guarantee a quick response to changing local employment situations. More facilities should be provided for aborigines, migrants, women and handicapped groups of various kinds.

However, despite Williams' conclusions that youth unemployment is not in the main produced by defects in the educational system, the specific recommendations framed in the context of the need to respond to high levels of youth unemployment do little to confront the issue. At their best they would merely recycle unemployment between different categories of workers and educational institutions, and provide some jobs in those organisations and institutiohs charged with coping with the problem. Williams, moreover, is a victim of the legitimating rhetoric of the educational system – that it serves individual and community needs. Its real class functions in a capitalist society remain obscured.

The central difference between a Marxist account of the Williams Report, its context, content and implications, and a social democratic one focusses on the conceptualisation of the state and its relationship to education. Williams' view of the state lies firmly within liberal pluralist assumptions, which see it as the rational centre of the body politic, independent and above society, guided by consensual considerations of the 'national interest' and the good of individuals. The educational system in this model is thought of in structural functionalist terms as a set of institutions which simultaneously provide for equality of opportunity, social enlightenment and the skills, knowledge and motivation necessary for an efficient workforce. Neither the state nor education is rent by class contradictions. Both operate to reproduce a consensual unity for the good of society and the benefit of individuals.

This approach by the Committee is, of course, to be expected given that its main function is to legitimate an ongoing restructuring of educational provision. The task of the Committee was to develop an analysis of secondary and tertiary schooling from the perspective of the liberal ideological representation of society as an organic unity in which everyone's best interests are concomitant with the continuation of capitalist social relations. Schooling has to be restructured to accord with the emerging needs of a restructured economy and labour market and this restructuring is dependent on the state's ability to discredit many of the liberal progressive educational developments of the Karmel era.

THE CRISIS AND EDUCATIONAL RESTRUCTURING

Given the centrality of schooling in the reproduction of labour power,[10] it is hardly surprising that the forms and content of schooling should figure prominently in ideological and political debate during an accumulation crisis. The restructuring of capital could well require a concomitant restructuring of the various political and ideological apparatuses and their practices. Thus, although there may

TABLE I
SELECTED COMMONWEALTH BUDGET OUTLAYS 1975-76 AND 1980-81

ITEM	1975-76		1980-81		*Amount required in 1980-81 to maintain real value of 1975-76 expenditure	
	($m)	Index	($m)	Index	($m)	Index
Social Wage Items						
Education	1894	100	2867	151.4	3180	167.9
Health	2953	100	3644	123.4	4958	167.9
Housing	562	100	366	65.1	944	167.9
Urban & Regional Dev't	408	100	105	25.7	685	167.9
Culture & Recreation	253	100	383	151.4	425	167.9
Sub-total	6070	100	7365	121.3	10192	167.9
Social Security & Welfare	5030	100	9890	196.6	8445	167.9
Total Social Wage	11100	100	17255	155.5	18637	167.9
Industry Assistance & Development	350	100	825	235.7	588	167.9
****Total Budget Outlay**	21861	100	36073	164.9	36705	167.9

*Calculated on the basis of C.P.I. increases of 13%, 13.8%, 9.5%, 8.2% and 10.2% for the years 1975-76 to 1979-80 respectively. For example, the 1976-77 Index is the base year index (100) plus 13% of that index (13), which equals 113; the 1977-78 index is the 1976-77 index (113) plus 13.8% of that index (15.59), which equals 128.59; and so on until we arrive at the 1980-81 index of 167.9. From this index the amount required in 1980-81 to maintain the level of 1975-76 expenditure is calculated by simple proportion. It should be remembered that the C.P.I. is not the most accurate means of calculating the amount required in 1980-81 to maintain the 1975-76 levels of expenditure. The C.P.I. regimen, developed to provide an estimate of changes in consumer goods prices, can hardly be representative of changes in the costs of educational provision. However, it does provide a rough and easily recognised guide and a means of comparison.

**This entry is for the total Budget outlay and, as such, is not a summation of the expenditure items selected for this table.

SOURCE: *1980-81 Budget Paper No. 1*, Statement No. 6, page 287.

be an element of smokescreen activity in the present ideological attacks on schooling and teachers, these attacks should not be seen as predominantly that.[11] They are accompanied by significant financial cutbacks and pressures for a restructuring of the practices of the different levels of schooling. These cutbacks and attacks are not vindictive and illogical responses by capital and the state to social democratic gains won during the long boom. Rather, they are an attempt to reallocate the available surplus value to capital investment and thus assist the restructuring. By cutting state expenditure on the social wage (health, welfare, education, housing, urban and regional development, culture and recreation, etc.) the necessary drain on surplus value is reduced – the cost of labour power maintenance and reproduction is reduced – and the rate of exploitation is increased (see Table 1)[12].

When applied to the specifics of schooling this response by the state exposes a major contradiction inherent in the state's provision of schooling. On the one hand the absolute and relative expansion of technology produces a relative surplus population (unemployment) which must be absorbed to maintain social cohesion. This can be achieved through reducing the retirement age, reducing hours of work and/or increasing the time spent in full-time schooling. However, the cost of an increased educational provision (and reduced hours of work without an equivalent pay reduction) produces an additional drain on surplus value, adds to the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, and hampers accumulation. The state must therefore seek to increase the quality and efficiency of that schooling provision. This is possible in that while schooling is not directly productive of surplus value, it has a variable indirect impact on the total amount of surplus value available for redistribution. Some aspects of educational expenditure can indirectly counter the drain on surplus value. Where emphases are placed on enhancing the basic skill and attitude training of productive workers, their increased productivity may offset the increased costs of their reproduction. Further, a redirection of educational expenditure into the applied sciences and engineering may result in more efficient technology which can again offset its cost by increasing the productivity of labour.

To the extent that these moves to enhance the productivity of labour through schooling are successful, the rate of profit and accumulation is revived. They also contribute to the creation of more "technological" unemployment, a necessary expansion of schooling as a means of social control, a further drain on surplus value, and so on. In the arena of schooling, the capitalist state's necessary response in a period of social wage contraction can serve only to regenerate the problem of surplus population and a demand for more schooling. This basic contradiction of schooling cannot be avoided! It can only be reproduced within the capitalist system.

This contradiction is central to the present attacks on educational expenditure and schooling processes. The logic of capital accumulation demands a basic restructuring of the productive forces, and the state is responding to this demand. The state is preparing the ground for a major restructuring of schooling which parallels that occurring in the productive sector. It is attempting to curb educational expenditure and simultaneously make it more indirectly productive by placing a renewed emphasis on basic skill, values, technical and scientific training.[13] There is a corresponding reduction of emphasis on the social democratic concerns of inequality of opportunity, compensatory programmes and the liberal arts.

Within the inevitable political and ideological struggle around the nature and extent of this sought restructuring of schooling the increasingly high levels of long-term, structural youth unemployment are crucial.[14] This situation considerably weakens the processes of extended labour power reproduction. Schooling is essential to the overall reproduction process but a severe dislocation occurs if there is not a rapid transition from school to work. The longer the period of transition, the longer the period on the dole, the greater the dislocation. The hitherto existing socialisation of the family and the school become increasingly irrelevant to the unemployed school leaver: the reproduction process is thrown into reverse and a counter-work culture of living on the dole develops.[15] This counter-work culture poses a dual threat to the state and to the accumulation process; it represents a potentially volatile social stratum[16] and secondly, it strikes at the very heart of the labour market. Capital demands that there exists an ever ready reserve army of labour power. The state's political response to this demand and to youth unemployment is to place renewed emphasis on careers education to bolster the work ethic and to make "school products" more attuned to the demands of the labour market. Simultaneously the state must move to increase the school retention rate or develop an alternative institutional apparatus to maintain youth in a state of suspended readiness for the labour market. These essential responses of the state necessarily counter its equally essential moves to cut back schooling expenditure.

The state is faced with the necessity of schooling a greater number of people for longer periods of time and more productively (indirectly) with less money. However, the success of such a strategy depends on the capacity of the state to weld an alliance of class forces capable of suppressing, or dividing and demoralising, the social forces opposed to the restructuring. Moreover, the state's capacity to effect these changes is limited by the state's fragmented and disjointed nature.

First, Australia is a bourgeois democracy marked by many concessions won by political class struggle. The state must respond to the direct demands and representations of capital[17] but it must also make a political response to demands made of it by organised educational pressure groups. This may well partially explain the existence of the Williams Committee: the recommendations of a "representative" committee are much more easy to legitimate than the direct and unilateral decisions of Cabinet. Thus the state cannot simply and directly respond to the demands of capital.

Second, the state is composed of many departments, each with its specific concerns and dynamics. Thus, whatever happens to schooling is not the simple product of Education Department deliberations. Treasury, the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs, the Department of Productivity and the Prime Minister's Department are all, of necessity, involved and whatever decisions are made about schooling, they will reflect a compromise between interests and personalties. This response is further complicated by the federal nature of Australia's political system and the consequent differential rates of development of different sectors of the overall schooling structure. This problem was clearly evidenced by Federal proposals in November 1979 to spend approximately 150 million over five years to maintain the potentially unemployed school students within the school system and provide job specific training. A significant element of this proposal had to be dropped because of the unavailability of TAFE colleges in all areas: namely N.S.W. and Queensland regional and country areas – a lacking noted by Williams (Vol. 1: 334).

Third, the eventual political decisions have to be translated into actionable forms by the education bureaucracies: the Departments of Education (State and Federal), the Schools Commission and the various Boards in each State. Each body has its own dynamic, reflecting its area of concern, constituency and personnel and each will significantly distort the purely political decisions.

Last, the specific policies must be implemented with specific educational institutions (schools, colleges, universities), each possessing its relative autonomy and internal dynamic serving to preserve its self interest. Throughout this process of response to, and conversion of, demands made on the state in relation to schooling, and the process of implementation, the role of teacher and parent organisations in defending previously won gains must be stressed. The extent and nature of any restructuring of education will significantly depend on the extent and nature of mobilisation by teachers, parents and labour.

Despite these refractions of capital's demands on the state and despite the limitations on the state's power to do as it wills in response to capital's demands, the final restructuring of Australia's schooling provision will be within the broad parameters imposed by the logic of the capital social relation and accumulation process (that is, any restructuring short of a socialist revolution, which does not appear on the immediate agenda).

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE WILLIAMS

Government Responses

Shortly after the Williams committee reported, the government established a committee of ministers to consider its proposal and formulate the government's response. In November 1979 Senator Carrick, the then Minister of Education, issued a formal Press Statement[18] which was accompanied by a detailed response to each of Williams' main recommendations.[19] Whilst recognising that many of these are a matter for the individual States and institutions, the government has accepted the main thrust of the Report, describing it as "the most comprehensive examination ever undertaken into the provision of educational facilities and services for individual development and into the relationship between the educational system and the labour market". Carrick concluded his press statement by suggesting that

> *the Williams Report has provided the opportunity and occasion for a national stocktaking of directions and practices in Australian tertiary education and training. Its purpose has been well served by that result alone. The Report and its follow-up also constitute a crystallisation of ideas and actions already being developed in various parts of Australia. There is now a need to build on this basis. I am confident that all those involved in the great enterprise of education and training in Australia will take up the challenges of the Williams Report in a forward looking and constructive way.*

It is unnecessary to itemise the government's responses in that the dearth of media coverage of Carrick's statement reflected the tendency for the government to simultaneously endorse most of Williams' recommendations, but to refer decisions for future action to other bodies, such as the T.E.C., the Australian Education Council, or individual State governments. It could well be described as a systematic exercise in buck passing. The only new initiative signalled was the promise of one hundred and fifty million dollars over five years for a "comprehensive policy for transition from school to work" announced the same day. This received far more press coverage. With respect to most of Williams' other recommendations, no new major initiatives were heralded, or promises made of significant increases in federal funding. This supports our contention of the significance of Williams as being primarily an ideological exercise, legitimating developments in education and training which had already been prefigured by earlier reports on school work transition policy and other developments, initiated before and during the William Committee's deliberations.

Shifts in education and training policy do not depend upon the outcomes of reports but on the contradictory pressures of the accumulation process to which the state must respond. The terms of public discussion about education have undergone a significant shift since the heyday of the Whitlam era with the content of the Williams Report reflecting rather than producing such a re-orientation. Nevertheless, some of the significant educational developments since the Report's tabling should be mentioned as they provide the focus for consideration of an appropriate political response.

The rationalisation of the C.A.E. sector is beginning, characterised by, among other things, various schemes to amalgamate and/or close down superfluous departments or institutions. The current reviews concerning the supply of, the demand for and the training of teachers will have important implications for many colleges and universities, including considerable staff redundancies. Measures to increase the centralised control over the provision of university courses have been initiated, despite the opposition of the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee (AVCC). Most States are currently reviewing their school examination system and stepping up resources for career guidance, work experience and work preparation programmes, etc.

ındicative of these rationalisations are the cutbacks in educational expenditure under the Liberal/National Country Party Government since 1975-76 (see Tables II, III & IV). As can be seen in Table II the 1975-76 level of expenditure was maintaned in real terms until the advent of the 1978-79 Budget, and since then actual outlays have lagged by approximately five index points per annum behind increases required to maintain the real value of 1975-76 expenditure. Tables III and IV provide breakdowns, with Government schools and C.A.Es. taking the brunt of the financial attack.

Such shifts in funding policy have not been brought about without opposition, with the Australian Teachers Federation and its affiliates mounting a Quality Education Campaign, with the Defence of Government Schools (DOGS) organisation mounting a High Court challenge to government funding of private schools through the 'Let's Develop Education Campaign', and with general opposition to funding cuts from the associations of parents and friends. This opposition and a general community desire for an expansion of health, drug, sex, driver education, etc., has to be taken into account by the state when considering the feasibility of the various options.

In relation to youth unemployment there continues to be a proliferation of and tinkering with the various programmes to 'assist' the victims, but the indecisive and ad hoc nature of these changes reflects a basic incoherence in state policy: an incoherence which is a function of departmental rivalries, interstate rivalries, incompatible objectives and the contradictory pressures within the ruling parties. Such dilemmas are admirably illustrated by the machinations involved in CYSS funding in 1979 and by the fate of the much publicised school to work transition scheme ($150 million in five years) announced in November 1979. The August Budget cut CYSS funding from $10.7 million to $10.0 million, a move which

TABLE II

COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION OUTLAYS 1975-76 TO 1980-81

DISCREPANCY BETWEEN ACTUAL OUTLAYS AND OUTLAYS REQUIRED TO MAINTAIN THE REAL LEVEL OF 1975-76 EXPENDITURE

	1976-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81*
			($ million)			
Actual Outlay	1894	2209	1401	2526	2607	2867
Index	100.0	116.6	126.8	133.4	137.7	151.4
**$m required to maintain real level of 1975-76 expenditure	1894	2140	2435	2667	2886	3180
***Index	100.0	113.0	128.6	140.8	152.4	167.9
C.P.I. Increase	13.0	13.8	9.5	8.2	10.2	

* Budget estimate.

** Calculated on the basis of C.P.I. increases: for example, 1977-78 level of required expenditure equals $2140m plus 13.8% (1976–77 C.P.I. increase) of $2140m (1976-77 required expenditure). It should be remembered that the C.P.I. is not the most accurate means of calculating required levels of expenditure to maintain the real value of 1975-76 educational expenditure: the C.P.I. regemin, developed to provide a representative guide to price changes for consumer goods, is hardly representative of changes in the costs of educational provision. However, it does provide a rough and widely recognised guide and means of comparison.

*** This index is calculated on the basis of the $m required to maintain the real 1975-76 level of expenditure.

SOURCE: *1980-81 Budget Paper No. 1*, Statement No. 6, Page 287.

threatened over 100 CYSS programmes by December 1979. This provoked Mr. Viner, minister for Employment and Youth Affairs, into writing a letter to Finance Minister Robinson requesting an extra $1.6 million for CYSS to protect the government from "adverse criticism from local communities as well as from members, senators and other sources" (*Financial Review*, 12/12/79). The additional funding was granted, but simultaneously administrative control of the funding was tightened.

On November 22, 1979, Senator Carrick and Mr. Viner made a joint statement heralding the new school to work programme to provide an additional 7,000 places in TAFE colleges in 1980. The Ministers envisaged the development of allowance and benefit payments to participants in the scheme, but they refused to give any timetable for such provision. The *Financial Review* reported on 7/12/79 that if any allowance was to be provided it would be irrelevant. On February 11 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported Federal inactivity with regard to N.S.W. proposals for funding under the school to work programme.[20] This was followed by the Commonwealth's rejection of all NSW proposals which incorporated any hint of job creation, including pre-apprenticeship schemes which were receiving Federal support in other states (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18/1/80).

TABLE III

COMMONWEALTH EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION 1975-76 TO 1980-81

SECTOR	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1980-81 Index
Universities	541	642	711	730	794	806	149.0
C.A.E's	393	470	475	508	530	544	138.4
TAFE	81	100	118	146	168	190	234.6
*Schools	802	931	1020	1055	1023	1143	142.5
Special Groups	55	46	56	65	72	84	152.7
Other	21	20	20	21	23	105	500.0
TOTAL	1894	2209	2401	2526	2607	2867	151.4

* Includes student assistance schemes and school to work transition scheme.

SOURCE: 1980-81 Budget Paper No. 1, Statement No. 6, Page 290.

TABLE IV

PARTIAL BREAKDOWN OF COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION EXPENDITURE: 1980 & 1981

	1980 (Smillion)	1981
Universities & CAEs:		
Recurrent	1197.2	1197.2
Capital & equipment	100.4	82.7
Adjustment to outturn basis	59.4	172.0
TOTAL: 1357.0	1357.0	1451.9
TAFE:		
General recurrent	43.3	45.0
Specific recurrent	16.8	16.8
Capital & equipment	91.5	91.5
Adjustment to outturn basis	3.1	15.0
TOTAL:	154.7	168.3
SCHOOLS:		
Government	367.5	369.7
Non-government	294.8	312.1
Joint programs	25.1	26.8
Adjustment to outturn basis	30.0	85.0
TOTAL:	717.4	793.6

SOURCE: Commonwealth Budget Statement No. 3 in *1980-81 Budget Paper No. 1.*

Eventually \$15.6 million was allocated for the National Transition Education Scheme (\$4.5 million in 1979-80 financial year) under guidelines announced by the Commonwealth on Feburary 21, 1980 -- three months after the initial announcement. In the 1980-81 budget \$33.9 million was allocated for the scheme but the State Governments, while willing to participate and spend the Commonwealth monies, have refused to contribute their share for the total 1980-81 programme (\$9 million). This refusal was based on the State's dissatisfaction with the Commonwealth's guidelines, the lack of a Commonwealth commitment to continue the programme beyond the initial five years and the Commonwealth's refusal (at that time) to pay an allowance to TAFE participants in the programme. During the Federal election campaign the Government committed itself to paying participants the equivalent of the dole plus \$6 a week travel allowance. In late 1980 the Transition Education Scheme is still at the development stage.

In any case, the effectiveness of the scheme (and others such as the Education Program for Unemployed Youth – EPUY) has less to do with resolving structural youth unemployment than with artificially reducing unemployment statistics below politically dangerous levels, and ideologically containing those without work within the limits of existing class relations. This concern is clearly evidenced

TABLE V

EXPENDITURE ON EMPLOYMENT TRAINING PROGRAMMES 1978-79 TO 1980-81

SCHEME	1978-79		1979-80		1980-81	
	(\$m)	Index	(\$m)	Index	(\$m)	Index
NEAT (excluding SYETP & EPUY)	22.8	100	23.7	103.9	26.8	117.5
SYETP	82.6	100	25.5	30.9	30.1	36.4
EPUY	3.1	100	3.7	119.4	4.0	129.0
CYSS	10.7	100	11.6	108.4	11.6	108.4
CRAFT	28.4	100	42.7	150.4	56.5	198.9
NAAS	0.3		0.01		0.0	
Group 1-Year Scheme	1.5	100	1.5	100.0	1.5	100.0
Special Assistance Programme	1.5	100	1.4	93.3	0.0	0.0
Additional Apprentices in Government	6.0	100	1.2	20.0	0.1	1.7
National Transition Educ. Scheme (TRANSED)	0.0		4.5		33.9	
TOTAL:	156.9	100	115.8	73.8	164.5 *	104.8 *

* If expenditure on employment training programmes was to retain the real value of 1978-79 expenditure the Index (based on C.P.I. increases) for 1980-81 would have to be 119.2, and the expenditure \$187.1m.

SOURCE: *1979-80 Budget Paper No.1; 1980-81 Budget Paper No. 1;* and Department of Employment & Youth Affairs *Annual Report 1979-80.*

in EPUY with its emphasis on individualistic definitions and solutions to the problem of unemployment, and with 74% of participants failing to secure long term employment. These concerns are also evidenced in the Government's manipulation of funding for the various unemployment programmes (see Table V).

The financial manipulations surrounding youth employment training programmes amount to an overall reduction in real terms of $31.24 million from 1978-79 to 1980-81, and a deliberate attempt to reduce official youth unemployment statistics (see *The National Times*, week ending 1.9.79). This interpretation is supported by an analysis of the official Government objectives:

> *The aim of the Commonwealth's policy is that ultimately all young people in the 15-19 age group would be provided with options in education, training and employment, or any combination of these, either part time or full time, so that unemployment becoems the least acceptable alternative (Senator Carrick and Mr. Viner, A Comprehensive Policy for Transition from School to Work, 22.11.79).*

Meanwhile, in certain segments of the labour market severe skill shortages are appearing. This is a result of a severe reduction in apprenticeship levels from 1975, a reduction in the number of skilled tradespeople attracted by immigration programmes from 15,728 in 1968-69 to 5,701 in 1977-78; the expected rapid expansion in mineral exploitation and development;[21] and the Federal Government's refusal, until November 28, 1980, to become directly involved in job training programmes. This change is indicative of changes in government policy being effected by increasing pressure from capital and the state's need to avoid brakes on economic expansion. The state's response to this need to secure the long term labour requirements of capital in general has not, however, been free of internal conflict. A significant divergence of opinion has emerged between the Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Department and its Minister, Mr. Macphee on the one hand, and the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs, its Minister Mr. Viner, and DOLAC, the Commonwealth and State Departments of Labour Advisory Committee, on the other hand.

Macphee believes that "at the moment all our skilled requirements can be met by immigration" (*Financial Review*, 2.12.80, pp. 1,10, 7.36) and Mr. Menadue, the new Permanent Head of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, believes that increased proportions of these immigrants should come from Asia. This view has been publically supported by Prime Minister Fraser with his election campaign commitment to review the immigration points system with a view to reducing its bias against non-Europeans. Mr. Viner and DOLAC, armed with the findings of the report on *Prospective Demand for and Supply of Skilled Labour 1980-83 with Particular Reference to Major Development Projects*, have argued that immigration cannot fill Australia's skilled labour needs (*Financial Review*, 10.10.80 & 2.12.80), and that there has to be a major government programme to expand training. The major recommendations of the DOLAC report were for the development of programmes for upgrading suitable semi-skilled workers and others to higher levels of skill; the expansion and introduction of pre-employment courses; and new measures to support group apprenticeship programmes (*Financial Review*, 10.10.80). This general line received support from the ACTU which decided in late November to oppose any attempts by the Government and employer organisations to undertake large-scale immigration of skilled workers.

An effective manpower training policy however is hampered by the paucity of statistical information and by the lack of any reliable planning methods or an effective coordinating agency, both factors which the Williams and the Crawford Reports highlight. In the light of these recommendations, and those of the 1975 OECD *Review of Manpower Policy in Australia*, Mr. Viner announced, on December 4, 1979, the establishment of a Bureau of Labour Market Research within his Department of Employment and Youth Affairs. This was followed by moves to standardise Australian job classifications, thus displacing the three codes presently used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Commonwealth Employment Service and the Public Service Board. The new Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) is to be developed by the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs, and it is hoped to be finalised by early 1982 (*Finanial Review*, 27.2.80). However, the trend over the last few years has been the provision of more state support and subsidy of private training schemes, and, where capital's plans are inadequate, their supplementation by state initiative. This orientation was clearly spelled out by Viner on December 4, 1980, when he reiterated the Government's commitment to training Australians. In a statement which also reflected manpower planning problems Mr. Viner indicated that there would be three major components to the Government's policy:

> *Companies working on big projects will be expected to train workers to avoid skilled labour shortages; the Government will modify training schemes to meet needs of individual companies; and Companies will be expected to make an early assessment of their skilled labour demands. (Sydney Morning Herald, 5.12.80).*

It must be remembered, however, that these changes in Government policy and the new found commitment to training the young and unemployed have occurred in a context of a continuing commitment to further reductions in the social wage and, more specifically, in employment training programmes. The schools and the TAFE colleges will continue to be seen as a convenient sponge with which unemployment statistics can be disguised, and pressures for "efficiency" and "quality" will be maintained.

The response by the media to the Williams Report was predictable. Having engaged in a prior orchestration of the shifts in the ideological terrain on which educational issues are discussed both by 'experts' and lay people, the media applauded the Report as a sensible, moderate response to changing conditions and as worthy of support even if at times it was not hard nosed enough in recommending specific rationalisations of tertiary institutions. Over time, moreover, those aspects of the Report which question the prevailing assumption that education is a key cause of youth unemployment have been downplayed while others (increased emphasis on the basics) continue to be stressed. The media's coverage of the Report and the schooling/youth unemployment issue in general has provided ideological legitimacy for those key elements of state educational policy which were developing well before the Report was published. The prominance given to Fraser's persistent public statements blaming the school system for youth unemployment has to be understood within this context. Those who disagree with the dominant representation of the school/work connection (teachers, unions, some academics, the unemployed and those associated with their welfare) are forced onto the defensive and have to discuss the question within the already predefined terms. After all, the public will not stand for this persistent wastage of the taxpayer's money on unproductive frills, the public having previously been the victim of a subtle transformation in the rhetoric of educational debate which justifies the kind of policy recommendations the primary definers (to use the language of the media specialists) advocate.[22] Similar movements in the ideological terrain can be seen with reference to union power, law and order, the enemy without (the Soviet Union) and within (Marxists and radicals in the trade unions and the schooling system). Since 1974 the media has consistently prepared the ideological preconditions for a more authoritarian state strategy to mediate the political and ideological consequences of the crisis.

LEFT RESPONSES

What has been the response of the left? The Labour Party has moved significantly to the right in its education policy: social democratic educational ideology is no longer seen as a vote catching package and no attempt has been made to make it so. The "extravagances" of the Whitlam government have been disowned. Although a commitment remains to maintain the disadvantaged schools programme and the broad perspective of the Schools Commission, the Fraser Government's decision not to renew Ken McKinnon's appointment as chairman of the Commission and to replace him with the conservative Tannock has drawn little adverse comment from the A.L.P. From the time of Hayden's 1975 Budget the A.L.P. has accepted the notion of cutting back on educational expenditure.

The response of the union movement has suffered from the lack of a clear class understanding of the attacks on education. The educational unions, for example, have been weakened through inter-union rivalry[23] and a preoccupation, until recently, with more traditional industrial issues like salaries. While not denying the importance of industrial issues, and while accepting that the teachers unions have conducted campaigns for quality education (smaller classes, relief from face to face teaching and teacher autonomy), insufficient attention has been given to linking these campaigns with the broader social and political issues and with working class interests in education. When campaigns have been connected to the economic and political climate (e.g. the "Let's Develop Education" campaign) it has been done in terms of developing "Australia's most valuable resource" – kids, thus running the danger of it being seen in terms of the crudest form of human capital theory.

Structurally isolated in their work situation from adults in other occupations, and imbued with an essentially petit bourgeois ideology, teachers have been an easy target. This structural insecurity has been played on all too effectively by the media campaigns over standards and youth unemployment, and has been further aggravated by the existence of a large reserve of unemployed teachers.[24]

State controlled schooling, along with other ideological institutions and the structures and processes of every-day living, has been only too effective. In place of education in the proper sense of the term, much of schooling consists of transmitting ideology legitimating a class society, disguised as common sense and science. Through the present recession powerful pressure groups committed to the interests of capital have been inundating the schooling system with "teaching aids" which are little more than thinly disguised propaganda.[25] The content of education and training is of concern and cannot be left to capital and the state's initiative. The unions need to struggle to give their view on the content of schooling in order to ensure that the restructuring of education and training is not effected solely on capital's terms. A socialist movement needs Gramsci's organic intellectuals, embedded in working class organisations and struggle and capable of articulating a broad understanding of how the capitalist system works and of how to fight against it.

Organisations like the Trans National Co-operative and the Labour Resources Centre are significant innovators of a political and industrial strategy which includes co-operative education as an essential prerequisite. Similarly, the ACTU conference on education, the Victorian teacher's conference on who controls the curriculum, and the upsurge in worker education through both TUTA and individual unions with education officers[26] are valuable examples of effective educational work which must be expanded. Moreover, it is important that the labour movement address the question of just what is a desirable educational provision for the working class,[27] and that this understanding then inform the defense of gains won through the period of the social democratic settlement: special provision for the disadvantaged, school based curriculum development and assessment, and greater democratisation and participation.

One area in which there is considerable potential for a significant labour intervention is the proliferation of school-to-work education and training programmes. The conservative emphasis in these programmes, and in careers education, is on the individual with a consequent "blame the victim" approach to unemployment. Liberal progressives reject this approach but the contradictions in liberal and social democratic ideology create a vacuum at the level of ideas about what transition courses should and could do. Given the process of refraction which takes place between political decision and implementation at the school level, and given the rhetoric of community, parental, business and union participation and of liberal pluralist democracy, the unions could effectively demand some input into these schemes, exploiting liberal notions of "balance" and "legitimate interest". Similarly, teachers working at the chalk face can make interventions at the level of specific course development and implementation: interventions informed by notions of working class interests in education and training and of an alternative pedagogy more suited to the needs and reality of kids defined as being "at risk".

In relation to teachers in general, there is the strength of the liberal view that schooling should not be concerned just with job training. Schools can be sources of reason, understasnding and knowledge, which historically have provided, for some, the tools and possibilities for escaping from bourgeois hegemony. Racism, sexism, pessimistic views of human nature – essential elements which support class domination – can be counteracted through knowledge and reason as well as through economic, political and social struggles, which necessarily entail a commitment to reason. Of course knowledge and reason alone do not convert people to a revolutionary position. Nevertheless, it is not true that because schooling serves to reproduce the structures of a class society that it can do no other. The left should not be too pessimistic about the possibilities which the present crisis presents for educating people.

If this is to be done, there is a need for new forms of pedagogy which, whilst encouraging high standards of work and self discipline are premised on the desire to build a different social order. It is the absence of a coherent alternative theory of pedagogy which has often undermined apparently progressive educational initiatives and so often rendered them merely alternative modes of reproducing, albeit in a mystified form, the status quo. Nevertheless, there is an urgent need for rigorous political work with progressive teachers, many of whom are crying out for ideas and guidance regarding appropriate educational work in the classroom. The class position of teachers renders them vulnerable to political mobilisation by the right. Nevertheless, the humanist aspirations of many teachers, together with their egalitarian concerns, post challenges for the left which should not be ignored. If the left does not mobilise among teachers, the right most certainly will.

Finally, the dangers of the present situation need to be stressed. Already there has been a significant upsurge in right wing political activity in campuses, and in areas of high unemployment. The National Alliance, for example, has opened an office in the western suburbs of Sydney in an attempt to mobilise the unemployed through an appeal to racism, etc. If the left does not develop a successful strategy to counteract such moves, if it leaves the initiative to capital and the state in a context where structural unemployment is likely to get worse, the propsects for education in the 1980's are dim indeed. However, there is not yet an established conservative settlement in the struggle around education.

Notes

1. The members of the Committee were:
   Professor Bruce Williams (Chairman), Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of Sydney.
   Mr M.H. Bone, immediate past Director-General, Department of Further Education, South Australia.
   Mr. C.O. Dolan, then National Secretary, Electrical Trades Union of Australia, Senior Vice President of the ACTU, a part–time Commissioner of the Tertiary Education Commission and a member of the National Training Council; now President of the ACTU.
   Dr A.M. Fraser, Director of the Queensland Institute of Technology, a member of the Advanced Education Council & a member of the Queensland Board of Advanced Education.
   Commissioner Pauline Griffen, Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, and a former member of the Council of Abbotsleigh School, Sydney.
   Miss E.M. Guthrie, Regional Director of Education, N.S.W. Department of Education.
   Mr J.A.L. Hooke, Chairman, Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd and a member of the Defence (Industrial) Committee.
   Sir Peter Lloyd, former Chairman, Cadbury Fry Pascall Australia Ltd and a member of the Council of the University of Tasmania.
   Dr. W.D. Neal, Chairman, Western Australia Post-secondary Education Commission.
   Mr D.R. Zeidler, Chairman and Managing Director, ICI Australia Ltd , and a member of the Defence (Industrial) Committee.

2. See Finn, D., Grant, N., & Johnson, R., "Social Democracy, Education and the Crisis", in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *On Ideology*, London, Hutchinson, 1978, for an analysis of the "social democratic settlement" in British education.

3. For analyses of these developments see Freeland, J. "Class Struggle in Schooling: MACOS and SEMP in Queensland", *Intervention*, No. 12. 1979; Pusey, M., "The Legitimation of State Education Systems", in Pusey, M. and Young, R.E. (eds), *Control and Knowledge*, Canberra, Education Research Unit, A.N.U., 1979; and White, D. "Create your own compliance: The Karmel Report", *Arena*, No. 32-33, 1973.

4. For an analysis of the significance of the standards debate and the role of the media in that debate see Bannister, H. et al, "Literacy and the Schools" in *Melbourne Working Papers, 1979*, Johnson, L. & Ozolins, U. (eds) Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 1979.

5. *Transition from School to Work or Further Study*, First Report of Australian Education Council Working Party, Canberra, AGPS, 1977. *Transition from School to Work or Further Study*, Second Report of Australian Education Council Working Party, Canberra, AGPS, 1979.
   Schools Commission, *School and Work: a discussion paper*, Canberra, 1977.
   Office of Youth Affairs, *Youth Information Series No. 1*, "Youth Unemployment and School Work Transition - Existing Programmes", Canberra, AGPS, 1977.
   Commonwealth Department of Education, *Education Programme for Unemployed Youth:* Initial evaluation of the pilot phase – July to December 1977, Canberra, AGPS, 1978.
   Australian Education Council Working Party, *The Supply and Demand for Teachers in Australian Primary and Secondary Schools 1978-1985*, Canberra, AGPS, 1978.
   The Bassett Report, Board of Advanced Education and the Board of Teacher Education, *1978 Review Teacher Education In Queensland*, Brisbane, 1978.

6. These schemes include: National Employment and Training System (NEAT) in October 1974; Special Youth Employment Training Programme (SYETP) in October 1976; Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) in November 1976; Education Programme for Unemployed Youth (EPUY) in July 1977; Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training (CRAFT) in January 1977; Group One-Year Apprenticeship Scheme in 1975; Shortened Apprenticeship Scheme; Pre-Apprenticeship Training; Fares Assistance Scheme (FAS); Relocation Assistance Scheme (RAS) in October 1976; Special Projects under NEAT for Handicapped Youth in early 1978 and National Employment Strategy for Aboriginals (NESA). For a summary of all these programmes see *Transition from School to Work or Further Study, Second Report'*, op. cit.; *Youth Information Series No. 1*, op. cit.; and *Education Programme for Unemployed Youth*, op. cit.

7. For a summary of these programmes see *Transition from School to Work or Further Study, Second Report*, op. cit. See also Freeland, J. "Where do they go after school", *Social Alternatives*, No.9 (forthcoming), for a critique of the EPUY Scheme; and Freeland, J., "Transition Education: a case study in the state's response to youth unemployment", paper presented to the 1980 Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Sydney, 6-9 November, 1980.

8. The Australian Education Council decided in late 1979 to allocate $700,000 over five years to the Australian Council for Educational Research to develop a series of school performance and progress tests as recommended by the Williams Committee. See Connors, L. "Nationwide Literary Testing Programme fraught with risks", *The National Times*, March 16-22, 1980.

9. See Mandeville, T., Macdonald, S. and Lamberton, D "The Fortune Teller's New Clothes", *Search*, Vol. 11, No. 1 - 2, 1980, for a critique of the IMPACT modelling of technological change and Australia's economic future. IMPACT's forecasts are very similar to those of Williams.

10. Freeland, J. and Sharp, R., "Education, the State and the Reproduction of Labour Power: Some Background Consideration to the Williams Report", Canberra, S.A.A.N.Z. Conference, 1979; Freeland, J., "Schooling and the Labour Market: Some Theoretics Considerations", *Radical Education Dossier*, No. 10, 1979; Frith, S., "Education and Industry", *Radical Education Dossier*, No. 8, 1979; and Finn, Grant & Johnson, op.cit.

11. See Frith, op.cit.

12. See Jones, E. "Fraser and the Social Wage", *The Journal of Australian Political Economy* No. 5, July 1979.

13. See Bannister, H. et al. "Literacy and the Schools". In *Melbourne Working Papers 1979*, Melbourne, Sociology Research Group in Cultural and Educational Studies, Department of Education, University of Melbourne, 1979

14. See Frith, op.cit.

15. See Windschuttle, K. *Unemployment in Australia*, Melbourne, Penguin 1979, pp. 43-72

16. Sir Robert Crichton-Brown, Chairman of the Australian Institute of Directors, recognized this potential volatility when, on 8/3/79, he said: "We must now allow the productive potential of our youth to continue to be squandered. If we do it will be our lack of care that will be responsible if this country decides upon a new system of government that is far different from the present democratic system based on the Westminster pattern". *The Australian*, 9/3/79.

17. It is important to distinguish between the demands made on the state by the very nature of capitalist accumulation and those made on the state by the representatives of different fractions and sections of capital. Extensive unemployment among youth is a consequence of the logic of capital accumulation and it creates problems for the state with regard to maintaining social cohesion. Thus it must respond. Simultaneously, the representatives of capital, the capitalists, make specific demands on the state in relation to labour power reproduction – e.g. demands for the state to take more direct responsibility for prevocational training and apprenticeship training. Again, the state must make a political response. It is in these two senses that the state must respond to the demands of capital.

18. Statement by the Minister for Education, Senator the Hon. J.L. Carrick on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, 22 November 1979.

19. The Government's Response: Responses by the Commonwealth Government to the Recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training issued by the Minister for Education. 23rd November 1979.

20. The projects include work experience and improved vocational guidance counselling ($6m), pre-employment and pre-apprenticeship courses at technical colleges ($7m), courses to assist young people to change from semi-skilled to skilled jobs ($2.4m), provision within the public service to employ more young people to give them work experience ($2.4m) and expansion of special youth employment training programs ($5m). See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/2/80.

21. The DOLAC report estimated that by 1983 there would be a shortage of 6,500 metal tradesmen and 3,000 electrical tradesmen as a result of resource development and associated flow-ons.

22. See Johnson and Ozolins, op. cit.

23. An example of this rivalry was the South Australian Institute of Teachers' decision to disaffiliate with the Australian Teachers' Federation over the latter's decision to affiliate with the ACTU in 1979.

24. It must be mentioned that of all unions experiencing major unemployment among members, the various teachers' unions have maintained the most persistent and effective campaigns for their employment.

25. Examples of this activity include business sponsorship of second school programmes based on students forming a company and learning how to operate it, and the game *Poleconomy* sponsored by a number of companies.

26. The activities of the AMWSU – publishing *Australia Ripped Off*, *Australia Uprooted* and its film and video resource centres – is particularly notable.

27. Work in this area has begun. See Ozolins, U. "Lawton's refutation of a working class curriculum", in Johnson, L. and Ozolins, etc. *Melbourne Working Papers 1979*. Department of Education, University of Melbourne, 1979; and Whitty, G. "A context for critical education", *Social Alternatives*, No. 9, forthcoming.

Source: J. Freeland & J. Sharp, 'The Williams Report on education, training and employment: The rise and fall of Karmelot', *Intervention*, vol. 14, 1981, pp. 54–79.

2

Accumulation crisis: The problem and its setting

James O'Connor

The explosion of world economic, social, and political crises since the late 1960s has inspired prodigious theoretical work by scholars of all political persuasions. These efforts originally converged on problems of theoretically defining and empirically identifying economic crisis tendencies and crisis symptoms. The economists defined economic crisis in terms of inflation, over-expansion of credit, slow productivity growth, high energy costs, international monetary disequilibria, and so on. The Marxists defined crisis in terms of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Crisis was the turning point when "producible commodities cannot be sold profitably, thus preventing the realization of profits and their transmission into additional capital" [1]. Crisis was also identified with the appearance of certain weaknesses in capital's system of domination of the labor process and working class.

Both the economists and Marxists found plenty of evidence consistent with their respective definitions of crisis. During the 1970s the rate of inflation increased; at the end of the decade government borrowing in the USA amounted to more than 20 percent of total borrowing and consumer debt was rising 50 percent faster than consumer income; industrial production grew by fits and starts; energy costs skyrocketed; the dollar became more vulnerable in foreign exchange markets. Meanwhile during the 1960s and early 1970s the profit rate and profit share of national income in the industrial capitalist countries declined [2]. Fictitious profits increasingly replaced real profits. In the same period, mass strikes, worker sabotage, rebellions within the reserve armies of labor, and social unrest and disorder were endemic.

In the U.S.A., private domestic capital formation in relation to total production between 1965 and 1974 was higher than any other nine year period since the end of the Second World War but a larger share of investment went into services and consumer good sectors than basic productive industries [3]. Average productivity declined and unit labor costs increased [4]. Between

1970 and 1977 productivity in United States manufacturing increased little more than two percent annually (compared with over five percent in West Germany). Inflation did more and more damage by encouraging speculation, raising interest rates, discouraging investment in financial assets, and worsening the balance of payments. By the mid-1970s unmistakable signs of an investment strike in U.S.A. basic industries appeared [5]. At any given operating rate in the U.S.A. manufacturing industries, there occurred less and less investment in new capacity [6]. By the last half of the decade profits were growing three times faster than new investment and, even though the U.S.A. had the best economic record of all the advanced countries between 1976-1978, large-scale capital continued to wait for a better climate for long-run profitability [7]. Meanwhile the rapid internationalization of the cycle of capitalist production magnified crisis tendencies. The increasing synchronization of the economies of the advanced capitalist countries meant that attempts to control recession in one country by expanding exports tended to worsen the balance of payments of its trading partners [8].

By the 1974 recession it was obvious that the late 1970s and 1980s would witness a massive reorganization or restructuring of capitalism on a world scale. This included above all a massive reduction in working class living standards. In the U.S.A. inflation and taxation were beginning to reduce average real wages and salaries as early as the late 1960s. Unions increasingly were willing to accept pay cuts and poorer working conditions. Social services were allowed to deteriorate and were actively cut back. Capital used more "illegal workers" whose wages are below average and whose labor-power is more exploitable because there are few union and public regulations governing safety conditions, child labor, and working conditions generally. Meanwhile capital mounted an anti-union offensive the likes of which have not been seen in the U.S.A. since the 1920s. Millions were given to anti-union political candidates through new corporate Political Action Committees. This was accompanied by an unprecedented ideological offensive against state regulation, rent control, welfare, public education, etc.. Speedups in the factories, modernization of productive facilities, and the re-creation of small-scale production and "home work" must also be mentioned. Finally, capital dispersed the working class geographically with the internationalization of production and the decentralization of production units into small towns and rural areas.

The result of these attempts to restore capital's system of domination over labor and the working class was a reduction in the size of the average consumption basket and also a decline in the value content of the average basket as well [9]. Houses and cars were smaller; less costly junk food was consumed; food energy and calorie consumption decreased; vacation trips were shortened; medical care deteriorated. In the context of new efficiency initiatives in industry and other branches of the economy the decline in the size and value content of the consumption basket almost certainly increased the average rate of exploitation. By 1980, however, it was clear that the rate of exploitation would have to be pushed even higher to raise the rate of profit sufficiently to stimulate a strong renewal of investment, demand, employment, and production. At the turn of the decade, Paul Volcker, Chairperson of the Federal Reserve Bank, stated flatly that "the standard of living of the American people has to decline" [10] and President Jimmy Carter stated that further declines in living standards were necessary to restore a healthy economy.

U.S.A. capitalism's need for permanent austerity despite record reported profit rates by many large-scale capitals in the late 1970s poses difficult theoretical problems with regard to both the origins and resolution of the economic crisis. Most economists and social theorists argue that modern capitalism is a truly international system hence that accumulation crisis tendencies are international phenomena. This means that crisis theory should be located in the specific conjunctural circumstances in world capitalism today. The crisis, however, affects different parts of world capitalism in different ways. Austerity budgets, youth unemployment, inflation, and sharp increases in energy costs appear to be worldwide phenomena. Relocation of productive facilities, industrial stagnation, low rates of accumulation, etc. seem to be confined to certain older industrial regions [11]. Most observers think that these crisis tendencies in the U.S.A. are especially severe because of the decline of U.S.A. economic and political hegemony in the world capitalist system. It is thought that "the proper functioning of [the world capitalist] system requires a well-organized and universally accepted hierarchy of political and military authority and responsibility among the nations of the system . . ." [12]. This hierarchy with the U.S.A. at its head is undermined by the "new international division of labor" or the relocation of industrial facilities to low wage regions. The argument is that modern capital has developed the productive forces to such a degree that it is inefficient and unprofitable for each country, even major countries, to produce the whole range of industrial and related products. In this view the crisis in the U.S.A. and other older industrial powers is the direct result of capital restructuring including geographical relocation on a world scale.

While it is difficult to isolate crisis tendencies which are worldwide from those which are specific to the older industrial regions and the U.S.A., it is certain that crisis in the U.S.A. has originated in some large part in the specific conditions of production, distribution, circulation, and consumption which have evolved in this country since the close of World War II. The U.S.A. is the social formation today most closely resembling any reasonable model of "full capitalism." Hence any model of "full capitalist crisis" is likely to fit the U.S.A. better than any other capitalist country. The important questions are the nature of the elements which make up the crisis model; the ways in which these elements interact; and the possibilities for recombining or modifying these elements into a model of crisis resolution.

Bourgeois Economic Theory and the Crisis

An important part of the answer to these questions is the capacity of capitalist economic thought to grasp the real causes of crisis hence the capacity of capitalist economic policy to manage or recombine the elements making up the crisis in ways which restore conditions of profitable accumulation. It is essential to recognize at the outset that the impetus for the development of bourgeois economic thought was the changing composition of and relationships between social and economic classes. In effect, the history of economic theory is the history of class struggles. In Western capitalism the class struggle has progressed through three general stages. The first was the struggles of the rising bourgeoisie against its "enemy to the right," i.e., absolutism, state monopolies, the guild system, feudal remnants, etc. The second stage was the struggle to consolidate bourgeois power against the old order and to prepare for future struggles against the "enemy to the left," or the modern working class. The third and present stage is the modern struggle between capital and labor. Bourgeois economic theory has undergone three parallel changes. In the first stage the old order constituted an economic, social, and political barrier to capital accumulation; hence classical political economy's obsession with the social, economic, and political conditions of capitalist accumulation and economic development. In the second stage the bourgeois revolution was more or less completed. Capital's conservative enemies were defeated or joined the capitalist cause. Capitalism's "enemies to the left" were socially undeveloped and politically weak. For a brief historical moment therefore capital was liberated from major social and political barriers to accumulation and development; hence neo-classical economic theory's compulsive neglect of problems of economic growth and its obsession with the problems of "market equilibrium" and the "allocation of scarce economic resources between competing ends." In the third stage, the capitalist class increasingly was forced to confront the wage, hours, working conditions and other demands of the rapidly growing working class. The presence of the working class and its various struggles consituted a new kind of barrier to capitalist accumulation and economic development – a barrier which is the object of study of this work.

The result of this barrier was the reintroduction of the problem of the conditions of economic growth into bourgeois economic theory, specifically the birth of Keynesianism.

In the U.S.A. however, from the 1930s through the 1950s, Keynesian theorists by and large limited their analyses to models of economic recovery and economic stabilization (the exception being the short-lived career of Keynesian stagnation theory). Two revolutionary changes in class composition and class relationships were reflected in economic theory in two crucial ways. First, the growth of the working class and the development of organized labor in particular led the Keynesians to abandon Say's Law and theorize the conditions of consumption and investment demand and the relationship between aggregate demand and economic stabilization, full employment, and the standard of living. Second, the development of finance capital forced Keynes and his followers to deal with the whole problem of money, interest, and "liquidity preference" in a new way i.e. this problem was subsumed under the main problem of the conditions of aggregate demand. Between the end of World War II and the late 1950s, therefore, U.S.A. government demand management was based on simple Keynesian principles that money and the interest rates were of secondary importance and that total production and employment were determined mainly by the level of aggregate demand. The "Soviet threat" legitimated large military budgets; the organized working class and reserve army of labor forced the state to expand the social budget; large-scale capital compelled the state to underwrite directly and indirectly various kinds of social investments [13]. The state budget thus expanded and within a relatively brief period the budget in relation to total production was large enough to make demand management practical.

Until 1960, Keynesian economists and policymakers generally assumed that "supply would take care of itself", i.e. that state management of aggregate demand and money would be sufficient to create the conditions for steady economic growth. Even though employment policy in the U.S.A. was not explicitly linked to a policy to provide a decent "social minimum" for everyone ("Keynes without Beveridege" in S.M. Miller's words), the Keynesians were confident that expansionary demand management and political legitimation and consensus were linked in a double bond. On the one hand, "the program of government intervention for full employment [was] embraced by the dominant stratum of labor as well as by the new middle class, by most farmers, intellectuals, and the like [14]. On the other hand, expansionary fiscal and monetary policies meant that "the cost of fulfilling people's aspirations can be met out of a growing horn of plenty – instead of robbing Peter to pay Paul – hence ideological roadblocks fade away, and consensus replaces conflict" [15]. Political consensus organized around the "Keynesian coalition" of Democrats and Republicans, capital and organized labor, was both the condition and result of expansionary demand management and loose money policies [16].

In the course of the 1950s, however, it became increasingly clear that "simple Keynesianism" ignored the monopolistic structure of industry hence could not explain the coexistence of rising prices and unemployment and excess productive capacity. Expansionary demand management thus tended to be inherently inflationary. The result was that some Keynesians abandoned their single-minded focus on the relationship between aggregate demand and output, and employment. They organized a marriage between Keynesianism and monopoly price theory, which was consummated by Gardner Means, John Blair, and others. This marriage was *for* working class consumption and expansionary demand, and *against* large-scale corporate pricing and other monopolistic policies, i.e. a class expression of the objective alliance between the working class and petty bourgeoisie. The view was that a decline in aggregate demand no longer resulted in declines in prices, but rather, thanks to the monopoly power of big business, in declines in sales, production, and employment. The policy recommendations increasingly made on the basis of this theory of "administrative inflation" were wage-price guidelines or controls [17].

This neo-populist attempt to deal with the problem of economic growth and stability was relatively short-lived. The reason was that it failed to come to terms with the working class as a barrier to accumulation. Hence in the 1950s, it also became increasingly clear that that traditional demand management, married or not to price-wage controls, failed to make the crucial distinction between consumption and investment demand, or wages and profits. It was increasingly thought that simple Keynesian demand management was an ineffective way to promote capital accumulation and economic growth, however useful in relation to stabilizing the capitalist cycle. By 1960, neo-Keynesian economics, the principles of which were developed in the 1930s by the Keynesian Marxists (e.g., Kalecki) and the Keynesians themselves in the 1940s (e.g., Harrod and Domar), began to replace traditional "depression Keynesian" thinking within the circle of economic planners. Under the intellectual leadership of James Tobin and others, President John Kennedy began to tilt economic policy towards the expansion of profits and investment spending. Meanwhile political considerations forced the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon governments to persist in tax, spending, and credit policies which also enlarged working class income and spending. In short, the economists and politicians were trying to follow a policy of capitalist accumulation which at the same time was passively accepted by the masses hence politically legitimate and/or consensual.

With the onset of the economic crisis in the late 1960s, and especially at the end of the inflation-ridden 1970s, the economists increasingly argued that expansionary fiscal and money policies, in particular policies which aimed to increase consumption, consumer credit, and the social budget, were no longer solutions to capitalist crisis tendencies but were instead capitalism's major problem. Too much consumption, too little investment and production became big business's main slogan. "It is now becoming increasingly clear," the editors of *Business Week* wrote," . . . that stacking the economic deck against savings and toward more and more current consumption has turned out to be a mistake of monumental proportions" [18]. Big capital argued more and more forcefully in favor of reversing consumption-oriented incentives provided by inflation, increased social security, progressive income taxation, and ceilings on interest rates. It became an open secret that these policy prescriptions would lead to serious recession precisely because consumption, not investment, spending led the way in economic recoveries after 1975. Investment spending itself grew at less than 50 percent the normal rate in the preceding four major post-World War II recoveries (even though the profit rate rose faster than the average of past recoveries because business was reducing borrowing and generally restoring favorable liquidity conditions).

Meanwhile the counter-revolution in economic policy promoted by big capital found echoes and justification winthin academic circles. Academic sociologists had argued for a long time that in a high consumption economy traditional impulse controls become unhinged and the work ethic problematic, and that balances between work and consumption can be restored only at a different and unknown level of personality integration. Foreign capitalists, especially Japanese businessmen known for their aggressive production and export strategies, and efficient methods to keep down the costs of reproducing labor-power in their home country, echoed similar arguments in cruder terms [19]. Academic economists in the U.S.A. meanwhile began a counter-revolution in economic theory which gathered more and more strength in theoretical and policy-making circles from the mid-1960s through the 1970s. Led by Friedman monetarists and renegade Keynesians, by the late 1970s perhaps the majority of the bourgeois economic profession has surrendered to this "Restoration" [20].

The last Keynesian policy proposal to expand consumption demand – Carter's proposed 50 dollar tax cut to stimulate spending – succumbed to the economists' arguments that surpluses of consumption spending and state expenditures had replaced shortages of effective demand, which it was claimed reduced the supply of money capital. Thereupon the economists became obsessed with "supply-side economics," or the economics of overcoming shortages of productive inputs. They called attention to shortages of cheap energy and minerals; money capital; modern productive facilities; new research and development; disciplined workers; etc. The ecological economists pointed to shortages of renewable natural resources [21]. The popular media stressed shortages of effective political leaders, and explained economic problems in terms of leadership blunders and policy mistakes by the

President and his economic officials. Most of the mass media, the economics profession, and the higher business circles adopted seemingly overnight Friedman's argument that inflation was the basic source of economic distress and government deficits, excessive money and credit, and over-regulation of business were the basic sources of inflation. The government quickly became the scapegoat for inflation, unemployment, and other crisis symptoms. Capitalist economy itself was biblically "perfect and entire, wanting nothing." Meanwhile the political sociologists had been busy developing a critique of the argument that crisis symptoms were the result of mistaken policy and political blunders alone. They identified systemic deficits of rational state administration and planning mechanisms and shortages of political beliefs and legitimation [22].

Theories of both short-term and long-term economic distress increasingly stressed supply deficits of one kind or another. The recessionary turn of 1978 for example was attributed to deficiencies of industrial capacity, labor strikes, and the oil shortage [23]. Theories of long-term stagflation also stressed supply shortages. Inflation-induced high cost (hence scarce) money capital was one popular theme. Another was that growing international competition and the post-World War II trend toward "capital-deepening", i.e. increase in the capital-output ratio, resulted in lower rates of return yielded by new investments. In this view, capital needed to rebuild fixed productive facilities along modernized lines which, however, presupposed a depression or long stagnation during which excess productive facilities could be used up and excess debt eliminated [24]. But it needs to be stressed that the major explanations of stagflation and crisis tendencies generally lay the blame at the door of government policy, politics, and the state. One argument emphasized the effects of state borrowing on credit availability and interest rates. It was thought that state borrowing created a credit squeeze and "forces capitalists out of the money and capital markets" [25]. This theory was often accompanied by the claim that state employment was "unproductive" hence that it was required to reduce state spending and employment meanwhile reinvigorating manufacturing and other "productive" sectors [26]. Still another common concept was that high taxation created "incentives shortages" within the capitalist, managerial, and professional strata [27]. Besides these political economic deficits which supposedly subverted in various ways productivity, profits, and economic growth, the standard line was that "motivation deficits" within the working class, which undermined economic flexibility and productivity, were the result of government employment and welfare policies.

In this view, which today is the dominant view in the industrial countries, especially the U.S.A., the economic problem is remediable through the normal working mechanisms of the market; i.e. unemployment, austerity, and a purge of the system's fat tissues especially the heavy layer of unreal popular expectations created by irresponsible politicians and bureaucrats. Government policy has increasingly been brought into line with these views. "Gradually, since 1966," S. Mukherjee writes, "governments have preferred the emergence of slack in their economies. They have chosen a lower level of total demand in order to fight inflation with unemployment" [28]. The economy works tolerably well, it is thought, and would work much better if the economic tinkerers, regulators, environmentalists, and others would leave well enough alone. Western capitalism remains a system of abundance and can rectify its shortages and deficits in traditional ways.

Economic Ideologies

These theories of shortages and deficits which have elbowed aside Keynesianism, especially their prescriptions of revived laissez-faire economic policy, are profoundly ideological. They are congenitally blind to the fact that the abandonment of expansionary Keynesian demand management and the attempt to turn the clock back to the nineteenth century inevitably results in *more not less* austerity. They are ideological because they have been given the illusory label of "neo-classical economics." This is a mislabel because neo-classical economic theory presupposed two economic and social conditions which have disappeared. The first was a free competition between capitals, which has been replaced by a world of big capitals uneasily coexisting with one another meanwhile dominating small capitals. The second was a confident capitalist class which had succeeded in overthrowing or coopting the old absolutist-mercantilist social order and which exercised near total domination over the undeveloped working class. This conjuncture, which is normally described as the "heyday of capitalism" because social and political barriers to accumulation were by and large absent, made possible the writings of Marshall and other neo-classical economists whose focus was the efficient allocation of economic resources and conditions of market equilibrium [29]. The theory of the conditions of economic expansion and the "wealth of nations" was largely confined to such esoteric notions as the relationship between capitalist "waiting," savings, and the interest rate.

The "economic problem" today however is not the "misallocation of economic resources" nor still less "market disequilibria." The barriers to capitalist accumulation do not include insufficient capitalist savings and/or excessively low interest rates. The problem today is not the result of the kind of "systemic" economic contradictions of capitalism which expressed themselves in economic crises in the nineteenth and first third of the twentieth century. The contemporary problem for capitalism is the result of "social contradictions" which also express themselves in economic crisis. The main issue today is not "system integration" and "system rationality" but rather "social integration" and "social rationality."

In short, the contemporary problem is the permanent presence of the organized and unorganized working class which has become the crucial barrier to capitalist accumulation. There is no way for capital to eliminate the working class as the classical bourgeoisie wiped out and coopted the dominant classes in the old order. Nor is there any way to recompose the workking class by getting rid of the old crafts and trades which periodically hindered capitalist accumulation – through mechanization, Taylorization, etc.

Two post-Keynesian strategies for dealing with the modern working class suggest themselves. The first is to "give in" to the national working classes and revive traditional national capitalist strategies of protectionism. But these have already been defeated precisely because real and financial capital concentration and centralization on a world scale pose an insurmountable barrier to national capitalist strategies which threaten the free movement of money capital, means of production and so on. Not only have the ranks of the national capitalist class been thinned by the internationalization of big capital, but also the U.S.A., which presents itself as the leader of the world capitalist system, cannot economically or politically afford systematic protectionism.

A second strategy is not to "give in" to the national working class but rather to simply "run away" from them. This of course is the ascendent program and policy defended by big international capital as a way to "escape" the working class at home by intensifying free trade and industrial relocation on a world scale and the new international division of labor. At the limit, this means the end of the balanced industrial capitalist states in the West as we know them. "Not every nation can have a stake in every industry," the editors of *Business Week* warn [30]. However, far from resolving the problems of welfare cutbacks, speedup, plant closures, and austerity generally, this strategy simply intensifies present crisis symptoms. This gives rise to the second aspect of this strategy – managed slow growth and recession to keep the labor market soft; modernization of plant and equipment which are retained in the U.S.A.; new forms of domination of the labor process and above all new conditions of the social reproduction of the working class, which requires more planning and a more authoritarian government.

Put in this light, the new "supply-side" or "productivity" economics cannot be adequately described as a revival of neo-classical economics. Instead, it is a historically unique and highly problematic ideology or political symbol. It cannot be stressed too much that the economists no longer face an undeveloped and unorganized working class but rather a more or less fully developed "Marxist proletariat" which at the same time can be described as a "Keynesian proletariat," ie. a mass working class which in relative terms still possesses enormous amounts of purchasing power and remains wedded to the American dream. This is dawning on the more astute economists who are not completely blind to social and political realities. It is understood better that Keynesianism and the American standard of living functioned for a brief period as a way that capital overcame the barrier to accumulation which the modern working class originally posed. They realize that the economic, social, and political costs of the Keynesian accumulation model have been great, and that the course of the present crisis is one measure of these costs. It is more difficult to say whether they also realize that "neo-neo-classical economics" is therefore nothing more than an attempt to legitimate permanent working class hardship meanwhile establishing the ideological groundwork for a thorough overhaul not only of the structure of industry but also the structure of social life. In other words, that the problem of efficient resource allocation is a cover-up for the real problem of permanently reducing the size and value content of the average consumption basket and of reorganizing social life in qualitative ways with the purpose of permanently lowering the costs of reproducing labor-power and the working class meanwhile attempting to minimize social conflict. The problem is that the new laissez-faire ideology ironically requires new forms of deep state intervention in economic and social life. The question arises, how can capital dominate labor and the working class without the weapon of Keynesianism? How can the state legitimate permanent austerity and permanently lowered expectations on the basis of free market ideologies when new forms of state intervention are needed to transform this austerity into a new period of capitalist expansion [31]?

Crisis Ideologies

While the "necessity" of austerity, reductions in the state sector of the economy, reductions in taxes on big capital, and rapid modernization of private capital are often asserted as self-evident, there exists a big problem of legitimating a decade or two (or more) of austerity and attacks on working class life in general. This problem appears to be twofold. First, Keynesian theory which retains a deep hold in laborist and liberal intelligencia circles must be discredited. Second, the state must win passive acceptance of "productivity economics" and productivity economic policy within the working class generally. The first problem seems to have a relatively straightforward solution. Expansionary Keynesianism is blamed for inflation. Meanwhile Keynesian demand management techniques are turned against the working class and used to contract consumption and create recessions. Keynesianism becomes a "negative policy" which functions as the counterpart of the new "positive" productivity economics. Liberal and left Keynesians are lumped with the Marxist "underconsumptionists" and isolated intellectually and politically [32].

The second problem of selling productivity economics to the electorate is more intractable. The idea that the restoration of "free enterprise" is the crucial need is absurd on its face given the monopoly power of the giant transnational corporations and the requirement that in energy, transit, health, and other fields the state must play an active rather than passive role in the process of capital restructuring. Hence it is no surprise that austerity policies mislabelled productivity policies are not being implemented (when they are in fact implemented at all) in the context of a coherent plan but rather in fragmentary and ad hoc ways. Political legitimation requires that policies attacking the working class be sneaked in through the back door meanwhile stamped with the label "productivity." There is no politician in the country who believes that it is possible to put together a "productivity coalition" which would include the organized working class and urban voting blocks to win consensus for policies designed to restore profitable conditions of accumulation by such measures as: eliminating "inefficient enterprises" and modernizing large-scale capital hence creating more unemployment and poverty; relocating industry to cheap labor areas with the effect of lowering average wages; deregulating gas and other policies which increase energy prices and lower real wages; reprivitizing and reducing social services and lowering the social wage; reducing the real value of social security because of so-called short-falls in the social security fund; restoring traditional disciplinary mechanisms in the schools and family and reviving the draft with the effect of reintensifying racism and classism; utilizing the unemployment insurance system to enforce greater labor mobility and uprooting more working class families; forcing union construction workers to labor side by side non-union workers and opening up more fissures within the working class; establishing new union contracts which break union control of work rules and work assignments thus antagonizing workers who believed if they worked hard they could retain good, steady jobs; ad nauseam. Not even passive support much less active participation can be expected for these kinds of class policies taken as a whole.

The old line that "increasing the supply of goods" is essential for a successful struggle against inflation is too distant from ordinary working class life to generate any enthusiasm for a real "productivity consensus." Some kind of legitimation however is essential because anti-working class productivity planning requires not only new forms of system integration but also new modes of social integration. Social functions must be reintegrated into one another. Workers, technicians, managers, and so on must be reintegrated into the new functions. In the absence of a new "structure of normative action" the old Keynesian/labor/liberal growth coalition cannot be effectively destoryed without the real risk of sudden and sharp political shifts to the left which of course pose grave dangers not only for American hegemony within world capitalism but also the world capitalist system itself. This risk cannot possibly be avoided by the utilization of economic legitimations. This is true not only because the new productivity economics is anti-working class but also because economic restructuring of the labor process within the circuit of productive capital lacks overall coherence. Restructuring of production requires discrete and heterogeneous micro-economic policies and in this sense is fundamentally different from traditional state economic management which was confined to general interventions in the money and commodity circuits of capital.

These are the reasons why new legitimations for state productivity policies have to be essentially political in nature. The reasons which the state gives for economic hardship pertain to two issues. First, the dangerous revival of the Cold War which is explained in terms of the illusory need to "regain geopolitical parity" with the U.S.S.R.. Political leaders apparently hope that the present mass dissemination of jingoistic nationalism will legitimate not merely productivity economics and more or less permanent austerity but also help to forge new political weapons (e.g., the proposed Energy Mobilization Board) aimed at popular movements against nuclear power plants and armaments, strip mining, super tanker ports, offshore oil development, etc. – movements which threaten "economic efficiency." The second issue is democracy itself; i.e. more propaganda to the effect that, in the absence of a streamlined economy and productivity growth, social struggles over the distribution of a relatively stagnant national product will "threaten democratic institutions" which are considered to be too fragile to withstand more than normal stresses and strains [33]. If the majority of politically concerned people can be convinced that economic hardship is the price of democracy and national security; and if they can be convinced that reductions in the consumption basket are also necessary because of "natural" or "political" shortages of oil, coal, minerals and other natural resources, the ideologues of U.S.A. imperialism doubtless can expect that U.S.A. capitalism can be successfully restructured for another long period of accumulation. This, however, presupposes the successful use of the word "crisis" ideologically; e.g. energy crisis, crisis of the national spirit, etc. This means that the state must manipulate the word "crisis" with the purpose of building support for new interventionist policies not only in the domestic economic field but also within international politics. Real success for this kind of ideological construction of "crisis" may be difficult, however, given the economically pragmatic and politically opportunistic approaches of productivity economics. associated levels of political incoherence, and growing "surpluses" of disbelief among the voting public.

Finally, it is practically impossible to imagine any political consensus organized to politically support and/or legitimate policies designed not only to restructure the productive circuit of capital but also the entire "geography" of social life itself. This is the crucial problem because capital has become truly "social capital" and capitalist society a "social factory." Education, welfare, family life, transport, culture, etc. are all implicated in capitalist accumulation. It is less and less true that everyday life at home, in the streets, etc. stands outside of the process of accumulation. The reproduction of labor-power is more than ever the "fourth circuit" of capital. The social conditions of reproduction of labor-power are today a barrier to accumulation and must themselves be restructured for renewed accumulation.

The reduction of the costs of reproducing labor-power and the working class generally (hence increases in the rates of exploitation and profit) are especially needed because restructuring the means of production today results in more and more internationalization of production, that is, the decline of industry in the traditional centers of accumulation. Further, social reproduction today means more than control of labor-power; it also means control of needs, symbols, ideologies. Hence an attack on the value of labor-power is an attack on traditional symbols, legitimations, needs, and so on, i.e. a crisis of concepts as well as material existence. Temporary reductions in the size and value content of the consumption basket may be acceptable in the face of even illusory threats to national security and democratic institutions. A whole new inexpensive way of life, that is, new conditions of social reproduction, requires political action and hence may not be a barrier but rather a limit to further accumulation. A new way of life which would destroy once and for all the "American dream" may be acceptable only to the degree that a new social existence is organized by society itself.

Notes

1 Paul Mattick (1969), *Marx and Keynes: The Limits of the Mixed Economy*, Boston: E.H. Sargent, p. 186.

2 The profits crisis in some capitalist countries is long standing. Rate of return on capital in British manufacturing during the past fifty years "show a decline in the interwar period, a strong recovery immediately after the war and then a further decline from the peaks reached at the time of the Korean War boom" (Frances Cairncross (1976). "Economic notebook," *Guardian*, 23 February 1976, citing a study by Micha Panic, Chief Economist of the National Economic Development Office). Andrew Glyn claims that the decline in pre-tax profit margins in England began in the 1950s, becoming especially severe since the mid-1960s, when post-tax profitability began to fall ("Notes on the Profits Squeeze," *Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists* IV (1 February 1975): 1). A similar pattern has been shown to exist in the U.S.A. by Nordhaus and others ("Where will the capital come from?" *Business Week* 14 December 1974). It has also been claimed the share of profits fell during the 1960s and early 1970s. Glyn and Sutcliffe claim that in Britain the share of total income going to pre-tax profits dropped from 21.2 percent to 12.1 per-

cent between 1964 and 1970. After-tax profits fell by a similar margin (Andrew Glyn and Bob Sutcliffe (1972), *Capitalism in Crisis*, New York: Pantheon. In the U.S.A., Nordhaus estimated that profits made up 10.6 percent of national income in 1965–1966 and only 8.2 percent in 1969 (William D. Nordhaus (1974), "The falling share of profits," in Arthur Okum and George Perry (eds.), *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution). Similar trends have been claimed to exist in other countries such as Australia, Germany, and Sweden. As would be expected, wage and salary income and government transfer payments from the postwar period to the late 1960s constituted a rising share of national income ("Economic notebook," op. cit.).

3 Robert Zevin (1975), "The political economy of the American Empire, 1974," in Union for Radical Political Economics, *Radical Perspective on the Economic Crisis of Monopoly Capitalism*, New York, p. 133.

4 In the U.S.A. between 1960 and 1973 average productivity grew by only 2.5 percent annually. In Germany, France, and Japan, productivity growth was four percent, six percent, and ten percent, respectively. In the U.S.A. output per man-hour rose slower than compensation per man-hour throughout the 1960s and beginning in 1963 unit labor costs began to rise faster than prices.

5 During the "recovery" of 1976, for example, industrial construction in the U.S.A. failed to reach two-thirds 1969 levels ("The danger in the plant consumption slump," *Business Week* 5 April 1976, p. 25). Reasons given included more efficient plant design, rising construction costs, and declines in expected profits. Meanwhile speculation intensified. The big conglomerates bought up companies already established in profitable lines of business rather than building new facilities and expanding capacity. Pension funds formed real estate pools to purchase office buildings and shopping centers which were already built and profitably rented ("Pension money diversifies into real estate," *Business Week* 20 January 1975). Corporations reduced spending on new raw material exploration and production and also on research and development ("The silent crisis in R & D," *Business Week* 8 March 1976).

6 This is indicated by the so-called Eickhoff curve which shifted steadily downward from 1954–1969; 1970–1976; and 1973–1976 ("The Eickhoff curve," *Wall Street Journal* 4 April 1977).

7 In this period, U.S.A. industrial rivals grew mainly because of the expansion of their overseas business and operations; the U.S.A. grew because the domestic economy expanded.

8 In 1974 for example American corporations maintained production and employment only by exploiting growing export markets created by the devaluation of the dollar.

9 There may have been a slight rise in the average quantity of wage goods consumed by the average family because of the increase in the number of wage and salary earners in the average family hence the increase in family income. This avenue for maintaining family income, however, seems to have reached a limit especially within low income working class families, most particularly black families.

10 Quoted by Andrew Tully (1979), "Carter's inflation in action," *Santa Cruz Sentinel* 1 November 1979.

11 For example, compare Brazil's investment boom with the investment strike in the U.S.A. or compare Japan's flexibility with regard to production for export versus home consumption with England's inflexibility.

12 The standard theory of international crisis (exemplified by Robert Heilbroner's (1978), *Beyond Boom and Crash*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co.) argues that "the proper functioning of [the world capitalist] system requires a well-organized and universally accepted hierarchy of political and military authority and responsibility among the nations of the system, a hierarchy ultimately based on economic power. Long periods of growth, by altering the underlying configuration of national economic strength, tend to erode the authority structure that ensures the smooth operation of the system. As growth proceeds, the system becomes increasingly fragile and therefore increasingly susceptible to the outbreak of disorder. Any breakdown of the international economic order in turn makes it impossible for individual countries to continue to experience sustained prosperity" (James R. Crotty (1979), "Lifeline for capitalism," *The Progressive*, January, 1979, 49).

Heilbroner's book is much richer in analysis than this short passage suggests. Nevertheless, it clearly reveals Heilbroner's reliance on "systems theory" and "breakdown theory" which falls to distinguish system integration and social integration. As Habermas has argued at length, crisis is the result of problems of social, not system integration. Furthermore, Heilbroner like nearly all other writers on world economic and world crisis fails to grasp the problem using the method of combined and uneven development. Rather the method of studying "national rivalries" – relations between international capital and nation-states, etc. – is used. Other examples are: Harry Magdoff and Paul M. Sweezy (1977), "The dollar crisis: what next?" in *The End of Prosperity: The American Economy in the 1970s*, New York: Monthly Review Press; Jacob Morris (1975), "The weird world of international money," *Monthly Review*, November; Ernest Mandel (1972), *Decline of the Dollar: A Marxist View of the Monetary Crisis*, New York.

13 James O'Connor (1974), *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, New York: St. Martin Press.

14 Paul Baran (1957), *The Political Economy of Growth*, New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 100.

15 Walter Heller (1967), *New Dimensions of Political Economy*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 12.

16 A fine account of the history of the Keynesian coalition is David A. Gold's (1977), "The rise and decline of the Keynesian coalition," *Kapitalistate* 6(Fall): 129–161.

17 Charles Schultz's "sectoral demand shift" theory is a variation of this thesis. He argued that prices in some economic sectors are highly volatile while in monopolized industries prices are "sticky", i.e. do not decline when demand falls. Inflation is caused by the combination of excessive demand in particular sectors and general price inflexibility. He concluded that general money and fiscal policies against inflation have the effect of creating excess productive capacity and increasing unit labor costs hence adding fuel to inflationary fires. His recommendation was selective credit and fiscal controls applied to economic sectors where demand was increasing too rapidly.

18 "The U.S. bias against savings," *Business Week* 11 December 1978, pp. 90, 92.

19 "U.S. is urged to 'put house in order'," *San Francisco Chronicle* 6 February 1979. "Quoting from an American research paper on how Japanese leaders perceive the U.S., (the editor in chief of *Japan Economic Journal*) said that 'for several years, [the leaders] have felt that American industry is growing weak and non-competitive, that American workers are habitually lazy . . .' ".

20 The term is Joan Robinson's.

21 For example, see Narindar Singh (1976) (2nd ed.), *Economics and the Crisis of Ecology*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

22 Most of these theories are reviewed in Jürgen Habermas (1975), *Legitimation Crisis*, Boston. Beacon Press.

23 "Why supply-side economics is suddenly popular," *Business Week* 17 September 1979.

24 "New life for Kondratieff's gloomy cycle," *Business Week* 10 September 1979. The Marxist critique of this concept of "capital deepening" is that the relationship between the value composition of capital and rate of exploitation (not the capital–output ratio) determines the rate of profit hence potential rate of accumulation.

25 This argument ignores the fact that Federal deficits typically expand private bank reserves and hence potential money supplies. It also neglects the fact that the state borrows in part to amortize or refinance past loans with the result of putting more potential money capital into the hands of the capitalists.

26 This line of reasoning neglects the indirectly productive role of state workers in such fields as transportation, communications, education, and health. It also mistakenly grasps the concept of "productivity" in technical rather than social terms. Capitalism's real problem is not primarily to raise physical output per worker but rather surplus value production per worker. (A good discussion is Peter Howell (1975), "Once again on productive and unproductive labour," *Revolutionary Communist* 3/4 (November): 46-47).

27 This argument presupposes that capitalists and their system managers cannot find ways around high marginal rates of income taxation which supposedly serve tax equity but which function strictly symbolically. Since World War II every U.S.A. tax reform measure has not merely failed but has been transformed into its opposite, i.e. more loopholes have been created.

28 S. Mukherjee (1976), "Employment crisis in Western Europe?" *Labour and Society* 1/2 (April): 99.

29 ". . . what happened to capital theory in the rest of the nineteenth century[?] . . . There is just one thing that must be said. The firm point . . . was the static method, continually refined upon, and more carefully applied . . . when it came to capital theory . . . all that could be done was the

analysis of a stationary state, in which data do not change, and in which (therefore) there is no accumulation of capital" (John Hicks (1965), *Capital and Growth*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 47).

30 *Business Week* 17 October 1977, p. 66.

31 The technical economic answers which the economists give to this question range from Arthur Burn's proposal to keep the government as an employer of last resort but to make sure that wages are low enough to encourage workers to find jobs in the private sector. To Paul Samuelson's plan to concentrate on fighting inflation and neglecting unemployment. To Friedman and Harberger's scheme to economically bleed the economy (which in Chile required a literal blood bath politically). Friedman's latest free market gibberish is expounded in (1980), *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*. It is frightening and unsurprising at the same time to read in *Business Week* in early 1976 that the Friedman-Harberger "all-or-nothing cure holds intuitive appeal for many businessmen and economists".

32 The rightward political shift all over the industrial world isolates politicians like Denis Healey in England who argued that inadequate investment and low productivity are not the result of deficient supplies of inputs but rather weak and stagnant markets for manufactured goods (and also "discontinuities" in economic policy) ("Social justice and realism," *Wall Street Journal* 2 March 1976). In the U.S.A., both the Republicans and Democrats "southern strategy" aims among other things to isolate the big industrial unions in the north and neutralize their views that the economic problem remains insufficient aggregate demand and unequal income distribution. The "left Keynesians" are only a handful of intellectuals whose arguments that international competition has led to excess productive capacity in relation to wages, family income, and effective demand are heard by a few thousands of Americans. Without access to the media and without any kind of political constituency, the often interesting arguments of left Keynesians and Marxist underconsumptionists become politically relevant only to the degree that they are appropriated by bourgeois economists and absorbed into a straightforward capitalist view of reality. Thus for example the view that excess industrial capacity raises unit labor costs which dampens demand, production, and productivity improvements can be used as an excuse for more plant shut-downs and labor redundancies. The view that monopoly pricing depresses aggregate demand can be used to support policies to deregulate industry, transportation, etc. The view that demand deficiencies are structural and have been offset only by military spending and credit expansion is used to legitimate restrictions on a dangerously inflated credit structure. The view that insufficient demand springs from capital-intensive production methods within large-scale industry which leads to the growth of unemployment, underemployment, subemployment, and the underground economy is used to legitimate industrial relocation (a euphemism for union-busting) to areas of labor surplus. Even the view that the "productivity lag" is explicable in terms of stagnant demand, production, and employment and the expansion of the relatively low paid service sector is used to legitimate "modernization" of services and the further extension of self-service.

The best review of underconsumption theories per se is Michael Bleaney (1976), *Underconsumption Theories*, New York: International Publishing Co. The best-known "Marxist underconsumptionists" are Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff and the "Monthly Review" school. In "Capital shortage: fact and fancy" (*Monthly Review*, April, 1976, p. 19), the authors write that capital's plan to reduce consumption to free resources for investment is irrational because of "the obvious fact that there is little reason to increase investment if effective demand does not increase substantially." The orthodox Marxist answer to this analysis is simply that effective consumer demand is determined by the rate of accumulation, i.e. by new investment spending and hence jobs and wage income. In "Productivity Slowdown: A False Alarm" (*Monthly Review*, June, 1979), the authors stress the expansion of unproductive services, especially real estate, finance, and trade, which have registered far and away the largest increases in service employment (which in turn has jumped from a little over one-third of the work force in 1950 to 54.6 percent in 1978), as the main cause of any slowdown in productivity.

33 For example, Horace Brock (SRI International) (1980), "Carter's economic failures," *San Francisco Chronicle* 8 February 1980.

Source: J. O'Connor, 'Accumulation crisis: The problem and its setting', *Contemporary Crises*, vol. 5, 1981, pp. 109–25.

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A labour market perspective on transition programs

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As a result of high levels of unemployment since the mid 1970s public and political attention has been paid to the operation of the teenage labour market and to the relationship between education and employment. The resulting debate has had two unfortunate side effects.

The first of these is that almost all analysis of the teenage labour market has concentrated upon teenage unemployment. As a result some important and fundamental structural changes that are taking place in the broader teenage labour market have been almost completely ignored.

The second unfortunate side effect is that public debate on unemployment has been distorted by an almost total concentration on youth unemployment.

I would like to deal with the second of these issues first. It is a commonly held belief that most of our unemployed are teenagers and that youth unemployment in Australia is at an unusually high level. An outcome of both of these beliefs is the view that the factor distinguishing current unemployment from that of previous periods in our history is not so much its size as its composition.

This common view is both mistaken and pernicious.

It is mistaken because the majority of Australia's unemployed are not teenagers but adults, and because the age composition of unemployment in Australia is essentially the same now as it was in the mid 1960s. In May 1964 when the total unemployment rate was 1.4%, teenagers constituted 35% of the unemployed. In May 1979, when the total unemployment rate had more than quadrupled to 6.2%, teenagers constituted 33.4% of the unemployed.

Between May 1974 and May 1975, the period in which our post-war record of low unemployment was broken and total unemployment more than doubled from 1.6% to 3.9% of the workforce, teenagers' share of total unemployment scarcely changed. It rose by only .3% from 30.0% to 30.3%.

It is true that teenagers are hit harder by unemployment than are adults, but this has always been the case. This reflects the way in which labour markets discriminate against those with few skills, little training and limited experience. Included in this category are not only youth but also migrants, aboriginals and many women.

The view that our main problem is youth unemployment rather than unemployment is pernicious as well as misleading because it averts attention from unemployment as the central problem and directs it towards youth. Thus explanations and solutions are sought not where they properly belong — in the failure of our economic and political systems to provide jobs for those who want them — but in youth and in the education system. Since late 1974 Australia has seen a proliferation of inquiries at State, Commonwealth and international levels into transition from school to work and the relationship between education and employment. All have been expected to provide guidance to politicians on ways to cope with youth unemployment.

I believe quite firmly that viewing our current economic crisis through youth coloured glasses distorts analysis of both its causes and its appropriate solutions. Nevertheless I would argue that the teenage labour market is in a state of crisis. It has been in a state of crisis for at least the last fifteen years but this crisis has largely been unrecognised because of the way in which the teenage labour market interacts with the education system.

The nature of the crisis lies in the way in which the Australian economy is progressively eliminating its need for teenage labour and in the progressive deskilling of the remaining pool of teenage jobs.

Prior to 1974 no one worried about, and few people noticed, the loss of teenage jobs. Nevertheless in the intercensus period 1966 to 1971 the number of employed teenagers shrank by 97,785 or 14.5%. In contrast the apparent reduction in the number of employed teenagers in the 1971 to 1976 intercensus period was relatively small. Only 8867 teenage jobs disappeared, and the total teenage workforce shrank by 1.5%.

This shrinkage in teenage employment coincided with an increase in the adult workforce. In both of these intercensus periods the adult workforce grew by close to 12%. As a consequence teenagers' share of the total workforce dropped from 13.9% to 9.8% between 1966 and 1976.

These are phenomena of great importance, for they suggest that reduced demand for teenage labour in Australia arises not from short term effects due to the recent economic recession but from underlying long-term structural changes in the economy.

This reduced demand for teenage labour has affected girls particularly. Between 1971 and 1976 the total number of employed teenage girls shrank by 4.8% while the number of teenage boys in employment grew by 1.4%. However, as I will demonstrate shortly, the real picture is a lot worse than this, and the labour market for teenage girls is not in a state of crisis; it has become a fully fledged disaster area.

I said earlier that a concentration upon youth unemployment has led to important underlying structural changes in the teenage labour market being unnoticed. The most important of these changes is the rise of the teenage part-time labour market. Although most discussion of part-time work in Australia has concentrated on adult women, there has been almost no attention paid to part-time work among teenagers. This is more than surprising. It is astonishing, as teenage part-time work was the fastest growing employment indicator in Australia during the 1970s. It grew faster than part-time work among adult women or adult men, and it grew faster than any category of full-time work.

In August 1979 every fifth employed teenager was a part-time worker. Among teeange girls one in four employees held a part-time job. For boys the comparable figure was one in six. The 54,000 part-time teenage workers of August 1970 had increased by 235% to 127,000 in August 1979.

Who are these new workers? Despite the availability of a pool of unemployed teenagers since the mid 1970s, most of this new labour force has been recruited from among the ranks of school students. In August 1979 roughly 63% of teenage part-time workers were school students, and Professor Karmel implied in a well publicised paper late last year that about another 20% were full-time post-secondary students. About 15% of all 15 to 19 year old Australian school students now hold a part-time job, and another 3% are in the market for one.

Most of these school students who are employed part-time are very young; 72% of them are only 15 or 16 years old. The jobs that they hold are very brief in hours — they work an average of about 7 hours a week (Adult part-time workers in contrast typically work over 20 hours a week).

Most of the new teenage part-time workers are employed as cashiers, packers and wrappers, sales assistants, waitresses, short-order cooks, cleaners, counter hands and labourers. These are jobs with a very low level of skill that entail almost no training, and they are not jobs that form the beginning of a career path. Most of them are found in the retail and service industries, and their creation has been the result of changing patterns of work organisations in these industries. In brief the adoption by these industries of techniques such as greater specialisation and division of labour, more effective time scheduling of labour in relation to demand, product standardisation, limitation of product variety, automation and improved information feedback systems has made it increasingly possible to hire cheap, inexperienced, minimally trained labour for a few hours a day instead of more expensive, experienced, skilled and trained full-time labour.

We are witnessing the creation of a new form of cheap marginal labour without a firm foothold in the workforce, a form of labour which now represents a fifth of the teenage workforce. In the present context it is worth pointing out that it is a form of labour that receives its sense of identity not from work, as most of us do, but from education.

The increasing number of part-time jobs has obscured the extent of the decline in full-time job opportunities for teenagers, for the rise in part-time jobs has coincided with the elimination of a nearly equal number of full-time jobs. However the two phenomena are quite separate, and they have occurred in different sectors of the labour market. It is not the case that employers have been substituting part-time for full-time teenage labour.

When full-time employment is separated from total employment, the decline in real job opportunities for teenagers becomes much worse than indicated by the total figures (you will remember that job opportunities for teenage boys appeared to rise by 1.4% between 1971 and 1976).

Between August 1970 and August 1979 the number of teenage boys in full-time jobs fell by 8,200 or 2.8%, even though the total number of employed teenage boys rose by 20,000 or 6.2%.

Among teenage girls the picture is far worse. In the same ten year period (1970 to 1979) the total number of employed teenage girls fell by 26,500 or 8.8%. However full-time employment among teenage girls fell by 71,500, or a massive 25.9% — in a ten year period more than a quarter of all full-time jobs for teenage girls were eliminated.

Although monthly labour force surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics provide recent data on the total teenage labour market, for details of trends in particular occupations of the most recent data available comes from a comparison of information contained in the 1971 and 1976 censuses.

It is clear from this that the relatively small decline in job opportunities for teenage boys and the very large decline in job opportunities for girls is not uniform across all occupations. Jobs have been eliminated at a very sharp rate in some occupations, whilst declining either very little or not at all in others. Occupations can be found in which opportunities for teenagers have actually increased.

It is instructive to look at what is happening to teenagers' jobs side by side with information on adult employment in the same occupations. When this is done several general trends become clear, and I will outline these before going on to talk about specific jobs. Where opportunities for teenagers decline, adults either lose proportionately fewer jobs or they actually gain jobs. Teenagers tend to gain jobs in areas where adult opportunities are declining, or if they gain jobs in areas where adult employment is rising they tend to gain jobs at a slower rate than adults. They hardly ever come out of the labour market more favourably than adults. If technological change reduces employment in an occupation, the process limits opportunities for new labour market entrants far more than it reduces jobs for adults.

Between 1971 and 1976 the sorts of jobs lost by teenage boys were in general not the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that it is frequently believed that advanced technology eliminates. There was in fact a significant increase in this type of employment among teenage boys in the period. Most of the jobs lost by teenage boys were white collar jobs, skilled technical jobs, and jobs that represented the starting point of a long term career. The fastest declining job category was that of bookkeeper and cashier; 56.3% of all such jobs held by teenage boys disappeared over a five year period. The next fastest declining job category was that of junior postal worker; 47.5% of all such jobs were eliminated in five years. Opportunities for teenage male draftsmen and technicians disappeared at nearly the same rate — 47.3% were lost between 1971 and 1976. Other significant declines in skilled and white collar work occurred for clerical workers (− 23.8%), printing tradesmen (− 18.9%) and electricians (− 14.5%). The only unskilled categories where teenage boys lost jobs were farm workers (− 13.1%) and drivers (− 16.8%).

In many of these cases job loss can clearly be linked to a substitution of capital for labour, and to the introduction of new technology and new methods of work organisation. Jobs for male teenage bookkeepers and cashiers have been eliminated because of the introduction of computerised accounting systems and automated methods of money handling and cash transfer. Improvements in telephone technology have been at the heart of Australia Post's decision to gradually phase out a telegram service, and this has resulted in jobs for junior telegram boys, which used to be the starting point of careers in the postal system, being sharply reduced. The introduction of high level technology to the printing industry lies behind the decline in jobs for teenage printing workers, and significant productivity gains resulting from computerisation in the power generation and communications industries have led to reduced opportunities for teenage electricians and electronics workers. Developments in telephone technology are particularly important here — in N.S.W. alone, opportunities for teenage electricians in the communications industry were slashed by 53% between 1971 and 1976. Reduced opportunities for junior farm workers represents the continuation of a long process of labour reduction in agriculture as the result of capital investment and mechanisation.

Between 1971 and 1976 teenage boys gained unskilled jobs as labourers and storemen and freight handlers, and some jobs in the sales and service areas. Any apparent increase in employment in sales jobs can be attributed entirely to the rise of part-time jobs mostly filled by school students. In the service area something over half of the apparent employment increase comes from these part-time jobs.

Despite this generally gloomy picture there was one area where skilled employment for teenage boys increased significantly between 1971 and 1976. This was the metal, mechanical and building trades. These are in fact almost the only major occupational areas where significant numbers of new full-time jobs for teenagers appear to have been created in recent years. They are a particularly interesting case as jobs for teenagers have been created in them either at a much faster rate than adult jobs or at a time when adult employment in these trades has actually declined. They have also been created at a time when the role of the construction and manufacturing industries in the economy has weakened significantly. The creation of these jobs should be viewed in the light of frequent complaints about shortages of skilled tradesmen in these areas and of complaints that qualified tradesmen are leaving these occupations because of declining wage differentials between skilled and semi-skilled labour. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the creation of large numbers of new teenagers' jobs in an area of static or declining adult employment is the outcome of artificial distortions in the labour market rather than of genuine economic growth.

The labour market for teenage girls can be distinguished from that for teenage boys by the much greater concentration of girls in a smaller number of occupational categories. Over 90% of all female teenage employees can be found in only fourteen occupational groups as opposed to twenty groups in the case of boys. In fact over 60% of all employed teenage girls are in two main occupational categories — clerical work and sales work. Because of this concentration in a narrow range of jobs, the female teenage workforce is much more vulnerable to labour shedding techniques than is the male teenage workforce.

Has there been any expansion in girls' jobs in recent years? Between 1971 and 1976 new jobs for teenage girls appeared in only four significant occupations. (In addition a reasonable number of new jobs appeared in the unspecifiable "Other" category). These were nursing, sales work, waitressing and bartending, and other service work such as ushering. In the latter three, growth can be attributed entirely to the growth of part-time work, for in the general sales and service categories full-time jobs for girls actually declined. This leaves nursing as the only bright spot, but recent cut backs in health expenditure in Australia seem likely to dim even that.

That largest absolute declines in teenage female employment between 1971 and 1976 were found in typing, general clerical work, textile and garment industry jobs (this largely as the result of the decline of Australian's clothing and textile industries) and telephone operating. In the latter case jobs declined by an astonishing 48.2% over five years, largely as the result of the spread of labour minimising techniques such as automatic exchanges, S.T.D. dialling facilities and indialling numbers.

The occupation showing the largest absolute decline of any teenage job in the period was junior typist or stenographer. Over 12,000 of these were eliminated between 1971 and 1976, nearly one in three of all such jobs that existed in 1971.

Many of you are probably saying to yourselves "Aha! that's the effect of word processing". However word processing machines did not start to penetrate the Australian market seriously until 1976, and on the basis of some work that I did last year their effect on the labour market is as yet minimal, and is confined largely to the legal and financial services industries.

I would suggest that junior typists' jobs have been eliminated as a result of the combined effects of technological change in four aspects of office work and of a restructuring of the typing workforce. It has rarely been the case that junior typists, or office juniors, did nothing but type. They would usually employed to do a bit of copy typing, answer the telephone, do some filing, make the tea, and perhaps run the odd message. Technology has had a major impact on the first four tasks in recent years, and courier services are starting to affect the fifth. Copy typing has become an unnecessary skill since photocopiers, particularly photocopiers, became standard office equipment. The amount of work generated by a switchboard is dramatically reduced if everybody has a direct indialling line and if the need to place trunk calls has been eliminated by S.T.D. and I.S.D. facilities. Particularly in the larger commercial organisations such as insurance companies and banks large volumes of filing have been eliminated by central computerised record keeping. And finally a generally ignored, but not to be underestimated, labour saving device has eliminated much teenage work in the fourth area — I refer of course to the tea and coffee making machine.

The effect of these developments has been compounded by the growing use of casual and part-time labour, most of which is adult, which increase productivity by tailoring labour supply to peak work load periods.

I want to extract three main points from what I have said so far: the number of full-time jobs available to teenagers has contracted significantly in the last ten years; jobs for girls have been contracting at a much faster rate than jobs for boys: in the one case where demand for teenage labour does appear to be increasing — the skilled trades — it can be argued that this is the result of artificial distortions in the labour market rather than of genuine economic expansion.

Now it cannot have escaped your attention that education has come under a lot of criticism in the last five years for failing to be sufficiently responsive to the labour market. If I can give you at least some good cheer, it is this: post-compulsory education systems appear in at least one respect to be remarkably sensitive to labour market fluctuations. I refer to enrolment figures and retention rates. David Freman has demonstrated that enrolments in tertiary education in the United States respond rapidly and appropriately to fluctuations in the supply of and demand for graduate labour. In Australia it can be shown that TAFE enrolments, at least in N.S.W., reflect with surprising consistency fluctuations in a range of short and long term economic and social indicators.

Secondary school retention rates throughout Australia in recent years appear to reflect the three aspects of the teenage labour market that I have just highlighted. This is not readily apparent if you see the standard Australian Bureau of Statistics measure of retention rates — the proportion of each generation of high school students who complete twelve years of secondary schooling. However if you look at retention rates from grade to grade separately by sex the relationship becomes clearer.

In the post-compulsory grades trends in retention rates in Victorian schools are fairly typical of what is happening in other states. Between 1970 and 1978 the proportion of students proceding from year 8 to year 9 showed a slow but steady rise. By 1978 less than 2 percent of Victorian year 8 students were dropping out of school by year 9, and the very early school leaver appears to be becoming as scarce as the Tasmanian tiger.

Retention rates between years 9 and 10 increased at a much faster rate over the same period. In 1970 about 85% of all year 9 students had gone on to year 10; by 1978 this had risen to over 90%. In 1970 year 9 to year 10 retention rates were fractionally lower for girls than for boys; since 1973 they have been consistently higher.

Between grades 10 and 11, retention rates for girls have increased slowly from about 75% in 1970 to about 80% in 1978. For boys however there has been startling decline. Whereas close to 77% of year 10 boys went on the year 11 early in the decade, this has dropped since 1973, and only 73% of 1977's year 10 boys went on to year 11 in 1978.

A similar trend is apparent between years 11 and 12 with the proportion of boys proceeding from year 11 to year 12 having dropped sharply since the early 1970's and now being significantly lower than the corresponding figure for girls.

These trends suggest a rational correspondence between enrolments in the secondary education system and the teenage labour market.

The overall decline in full time job opportunities is reflected in an overall increase in retention rates (This of course helps to explain why a 14.5% reduction in the number of teenagers' jobs between 1966 and 1971 did not lead to massive unemployment. Teenagers responded to the reduced number of jobs by staying on at school).

At each of the points where those aged 15 or more can opt to leave school, retention rates for girls are either higher than those for boys, are increasing faster than those for boys, or both. This makes a lot of sense in the light of the rapidly worsening labour market for teenage girls.

At each year to year choice point retention rates for boys are either increasing or remaining roughly steady with the exception of the year 10 to year 11 retention rate. Here a sharp decline is evident. When you realise that entry to the skilled trades is generally contingent upon completing year 10 and obtaining a School Certificate, you will realise that this decline in retention rates corresponds precisely to the only area of the teenage labour market where employment is expanding. Boys appear to be being attracted out of school after year 10 by the availability of increased apprenticeships in the skilled trades. I draw your attention to the fact that these jobs are in areas of static or declining adult employment, or are being created at a faster rate than adult's jobs, and to the strong possibility that this job creation does not reflect real economic growth but stems from artificial distortions in the labour market.

The title of this paper is "A labour market perspective on transition programs". So far I have talked about the labour market but have not mentioned transition programs. I do not intend to give you my opinions on what educational responses are appropriate to the nature of the current teenage labour market (although I will be happy to do so if you wish) but rather to pose you a number of questions.

- If declining teenage employment is not a recent phenomenon, and if youth's share of total unemployment has remained essentially the same for many years, what are the new problems, if any, that transition education rograms are supposed to be responding to?
- If a steady increase in retention rates has been a long standing educational response to declining teenage job opportunities, can a distinction between education and transition education be defended?
- If job opportunities for teenagers are declining, and if the remaining stock of jobs is, with a few exceptions, becoming increasingly deskilled, is it appropriate for education systems to respond by increasing specific vocational skills training?
- Do recent increases in jobs for teenagers in some of the trades represent a real increase in career prospects? How should career guidance services react to these increases?
- If teenage employment is declining, should secondary education be more job centred or less?

  If students who previously would have entered the workforce without completing year 10 are increasingly staying at school, how should the total curriculum respond to their needs? Is there a case for teaching vocational skills for living and leisure rather than vocational skills for work? If so, who should do such teaching, schools or TAFE?
- In view of the rapid contraction in girl's employment opportunities and the narrow range of jobs in which most are found do schools have a responsibility to make genuine attempts to broaden girls' career aspirations in order to prevent them becoming increasingly locked out of the labour market?
- If at any one time there is a fixed number of jobs available for teenagers, does increasing the employability and job seeking skills of some disadvantage the employment prospects of others? What would be the consequence if all teenagers took part in programs designed to enhance these skills?
- Does the rising incidence of part-time work among school students have any implications for work experience programs? In view of the nature of most of these jobs, what are students likely to learn about work and job satisfaction?

Source: R. Sweet, 'A labour market perspective on transition programs', *Youth Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1982, pp. 9–12.

4

Where do they go after school: A critical analysis of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth

John Freeland

The question of schooling's relation to youth unemployment has dominated both academic and political debate about education for the past five years—so much so that one is tempted to ask just what more can be said.

However, some things need to be restated and more analysis is required. The bulk of the writings and debate about youth unemployment and schooling lacks a coherently developed analysis of the relationship between the economy, the State and schooling. This deficiency is evidenced in the various educational programs for unemployed youth, all of which emphasise the development of the individual's work related skills and attitudes. At most, this approach can increase the labour market competitiveness of some at the expense of others, and it ignores the *Williams Report's* warning that 'the solution to the youth unemployment problem is dependent on the solution to the general unemployment problem' (Vol. I:117). The objective of this article is to outline briefly the essentials of an analysis of the school-work relationship and the State, and to apply that framework to the Education Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY). In so doing an attempt will be made to avoid a dangerously negative pessimism by emphasising avenues for positive action.

Restating the essentials

By now everyone knows that the official estimates of unemployment in Australia categorise almost 350,000 people as unemployed but more realistic assessments, which take into account the hidden unemployed, double the official statistics.[1] Similarly, everyone (except those who steadfastly close their eyes to reality) knows that the unemployment is largely a product of structural readjustment in the Australian economy and its interrelationship with an international capitalist system which is itself experiencing a periodic downturn.[2] We should all be aware of the micro-chip and the new international division of labour and their impact on employment patterns and prospects in Australia.[3]

When our attention is drawn to the actual composition and selective social impact of present unemployment we find, again, that it has all been said before. The hierarchical division of labour and its symbiotic relationship with labour market segmentation on lines of sex and ethnicity has been canvassed.[4] We know over a third of all unemployment is made up by people between fifteen and nineteen years of age, and that this had been so since the mid 1960s, ten years before the onset of the present recession. Unemployment rates for women, migrants and blacks are on average higher than for males and anglo-celtic Australians, with unemployment among Lebanese females from fifteen to nineteen years in Lakemba, Sydney, reaching 50%. We should be aware, for example, that unemployment in Sydney is concentrated in the ALP held federal electorates, a situation which reduces the political dangers inherent in high unemployment rates for the Fraser government.[5] Last, we should all be aware of the personal consequences of extended dole dependency.[6]

With regard to the question of schooling's relationship to youth unemployment and the school-to-work transition there has been a multiplicity of official reports and discussion papers (see Table I) to say nothing of books and articles, covering the by now familiar territory and generally drawing similar conclusions. There exists a confusing array of government schemes and programs focusing on youth unemployment and school-to-work transition (see Table II). There has also been an expanding critical response to those reports, schemes and programs.[7]

Next we should differentiate between the subjective understanding and intentions of people involved both in the broad debate about education and in the practices of schooling, and a more objective analysis of the structural imperatives underlying the debate and of its consequences. The subjective experience of an employer may lead him/her to a conviction that school standards have declined and that this is the major cause of youth unemployment. From this conviction emerge a number of public attacks on the school system:

> Mr Gordon Musgrave, of the Australian Gas Light Company, said employers wanted schools to teach constructive thoughts rather than merely critical ones.
>
> 'Education today is teaching people to be critical', he said. 'Sometimes I think it is teaching them to be knocking'.
>
> Schools should teach that people necessarily had to accept some imposed discipline when they entered the workforce. *Sydney Morning Herald* 18.9.78.

It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss these attacks on the grounds that all evidence indicates a maintenance of school standards. Underlying the attacks is the question of the structural relationship between the schooling system and the labour market: a relationship which has undergone significant change in the last decade.

Structural and technological change have combined to drastically reduce employment in the manufacturing sector and to severely curtail employment growth in the tertiary sector; to eradicate many semi and unskilled jobs while simultaneously de-skilling others; to reduce the apprentice intake rate of private enterprise; and to proportionately expand part-time work opportunities at the expense of full-time work. These changes have had their greatest impact among the young and particularly among the early school leavers. The structures and processes of schooling have also changed. Through the first half of the 1970s (the golden age of Karmelot) liberal progressive educational ideology attained a dominance in the debate about education and in practice there was a move towards a social democratic

Table I *REPORTS RELATING TO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL TO WORK TRANSITION*

Fitzgerald, R.T. *Poverty and Education in Australia*, Fifth main Report, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Canberra, AGPS, 1976

Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, *School Leavers: Choice and Opportunity*, Poverty and Education Series, Canberra, AGPS, 1977

Australian Education Council Working Party, *Transition from School to Work or Further Study*, First Report, Canberra, AGPS, 1977

Australian Schools Commission, *School and Work: a discussion paper*, Canberra, ASC, 1977

Office of Youth Affairs, *Youth Unemployment and School/Work Transition*, Youth Information Series No.1, Canberra, AGPS, 1977

O.E.C.D., *Report of the Joint Working Party on Education and Working Life*, Paris, O.E.C.D., 1977

Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, *School, Community and Work: Urban and Rural Aspects*, Poverty and Education Series, Canberra, AGPS, 1978

Commonwealth Department of Education, *Education Program for Unemployed Youth: initial evaluation of pilot phase*, Canberra, AGPS, 1978

Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, *Education, Training and Employment* (the Williams Report), Canberra, AGPS, 1979

Australian Education Council Working Party, *Transition from School to Work or Further Study*, Second Report, Canberra, AGPS, 1979

Hubbert, G.D. (Commonwealth Department of Education), *An Evaluation of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth*, Canberra, AGPS, 1980

Australian Education Council Working Party, *Education and Employment*, Melbourne, AEC, 1980

Australian Schools Commission, *Schooling for 15 & 16 Year-olds*, Canberra, ASC, 1980

Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, *Preparation for the Workforce*, Canberra, AGPS, 1981

settlement.[8] These changes were largely a by-product of the long post-war economic boom and education was generally seen as a force for social reform: with the humanisation of the school being regarded as a model for humanising the work place. However, the reforms came too late (after the economic bubble which sustained them collapsed) and are basically incompatible with the economic and political demands made on the school system in a period of prolonged recession. The concern in the early seventies for equality of opportunity and community participation have given way to equally strong concern for quality and efficiency, with the criteria for judgment being the fit between the schools' products and the demands of the labour market. There is a mismatch between the structures and processes of

Table II PROGRAMS RELATING TO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL TO WORK TRANSITION

PROGRAM	RESPONSIBLE DEPARTMENT	DATE STARTED
Fares Assistance Scheme (FAS)	Employment and Youth Affairs through CES	Oct.1972
National Employment and Training Scheme (NEAT)	Employment & Youth Affairs through CES	Oct.1974
NEAT Special Assistance Program	Employment and Youth Affairs	Dec.1974
Special Youth Employment Training Program (SYETP)	Employment & Youth Affairs through NEAT	Oct.1976
Relocation Assistance Scheme	Employment & Youth Affairs through CES	Oct.1976
Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training (CRAFT)	Employment & Youth Affairs	Jan.1977
Aboriginal Community Development Employment Projects Scheme	Aboriginal Affairs	May 1977
Education Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY)	Education	July 1977
Special NEAT Projects for Handicapped Youth	Employment & Youth Affairs	1978
National Transition Education Scheme (Transed)	Education	Nov.1979
Apprenticeship Rebate	Employment & Youth Affairs	Nov.1980

schooling and the demands being made by industry. This has led to the political and ideological attacks on schooling. Attacks which conceal 'a much wider process of reorganising the roles of the state and industry in the preparation of young workers'.[9]

Schools are not the cause of youth unemployment and they are not the cause of the educational crisis, but new demands are being made on the schooling system and changes are being effected. Thus, although the attacks may be based on a subjective misunderstanding of the real situation, to the extent that they are given currency and credibility, legitimacy is provided for structural changes and financial cutbacks in education. So long as large scale youth unemployment exists demands will be made on schools both to act as a sponge to disguise its existence, and to integrate a direct job training function. Given the reality of these demands and the concomitant changes being made, it is important to develop an understanding of just what schools are capable of achieving with regard to preparing future workers for the labour market. Only then can the worth of special education programs for youth 'at risk' be assessed.

Schooling's contradictory role

Continued growth is central to capitalism's survival. The individual firm or multinational must expand if it is to secure its continued existence and to grow it must maximise profits. At the national level economic growth is the essential basis for the legitimation of a society's economic, political and social structures and relations. A capitalist society cannot maximise everybody's wellbeing. To expand labour's share of GDP (wages and salaries), as did the Whitlam government, necessitates a reduction in the share going to profits, rent and interest and, if there is an investment strike, a reduction in the rate of capital investment and future rates of growth. Conversely, to increase capital's share of GDP with a view to stimulating investment, as the Fraser government is doing, necessitates a reduction in labour's share and possibly a reduction in the real value of wages and salaries. Similarly, to redirect government expenditure away from the social wage area (health, welfare, education, etc.) and towards incentives for capital investment, as the Fraser government is doing, is to reduce the quality of life of wage and salary earners.[10] Sustained economic growth, at a rate higher than population growth, is the only means of disguising this reality and is thus the key to legitimising the inherently exploitative relations of production.

Capitalism is not, however, a purely economic system. It is simultaneously structured and defined by political and ideological factors, and the economic factors do not and cannot mechanically determine political, social and ideological developments. All that can be said is that capitalism has inherent imperatives (such as continued accumulation) and tendencies which work to impose limitations on, for example, the actions of the State. Thus, in a period of recession the degree of flexibility and freedom enjoyed by the State is somewhat less than that enjoyed in periods of economic boom. We therefore find a tendency for the social wage to expand in times of boom (the bargaining strength of the political and industrial arms of the labour movement being greater) and to contract in times of recession. Similarly, sustained economic prosperity tends to engender greater ideological flexibility and diversity, and demands for greater participation by people in decisions which affect their lives. It is this phenomenon which explains the emergence in the early seventies of the social democratic settlement in educational debate and practice.

These structural imperatives have a direct relevance for schooling in Australia today. With the development of industrial capitalism, the family became increasingly incapable of ensuring the reproduction and allocation of workers for the increasingly specialised, divided and segmented labour market. Equally, the emerging capitalist enterprises operating in the anarchic free market were unable to provide adequately for the reproduction and control of the workforce. It was in this context that State-provided universal schooling developed.[11] The State, through its provision of schooling, family support mechanisms, welfare, etc., has socialised the costs of social and cultural reproduction (which incorporates the reproduction of the workforce). However, this necessary expense concomitantly acts as a drain on the rate of capital accumulation and economic growth. Expenditure on education is unproductive in that it reduces the available investable funds and in that it does not in general generate profit.

Thus, the capitalist state is characterised by an unavoidable contradiction. On the one hand it has to secure the optimum conditions for accumulation, conditions which include provision for maximum capital investment, and simultaneously secure, through the provision of schooling, family support, etc., the social and cultural reproduction of the workforce. Provision for the latter necessarily limits provision for investment in real assets. In periods of recession this contradiction is exacerbated by the need for the State to facilitate fundamental restructuring of the economy which requires a reduction in social wage expenditures. The Fraser government is presently doing this. By cutting State expenditure on schooling (and health, welfare, etc.) the cost of workforce maintenance and reproduction is increasingly privatised, and the public monies thus 'saved' can be diverted to direct investment.[12]

However, while schooling does not directly produce profit, it does have a variable indirect impact on the amount of profit which can be extracted from investment. Educational expenditure can thus be indirectly productive and thereby indirectly counter the necessary drain on funds available for investment and accumulation. To the extent that schooling enhances the basic skill training and work oriented attitudes of workers, increased productivity will counter the costs of workforce maintenance and reproduction. Similarly, an increased emphasis on scientific and technological training can result in more efficient technology and hence increased productivity. A concentration on these aspects of schooling can thus counter the necessary drain on investable funds and on economic growth.

However, this creates a fundamental dilemma for the capitalist state. Continued technological innovation and the concomitant increases in productivity produces a relative surplus population (unemployment) which must be absorbed (through reduced hours of work, reduced retirement ages and through delayed entrance into the labour market) to maintain social cohesion. However, the costs of increasing school retention rates (and reduced hours of work without a proportional pay reduction) produce an additional drain on directly profitable investment funds, thus hampering accumulation. This increases pressures to make schooling more efficient in terms of enhancing labour's productivity. The rate of investment is revived and accumulation safeguarded, but at the cost of an increase in 'technological' unemployment, a further expansion of schooling as a means of social control, a further drain on real asset investment, and so on. There is no way in which this contradiction can be avoided in the capitalist system: it can only be reproduced, albeit in an extended form.

Moreover, it is this contradiction which explains the present ideological attacks on and financial cutbacks in schooling, and the concern, so evident in the *Williams Report* (Vol. I: Chap. 18) for quality and efficiency in all levels of schooling. High level, long term structural unemployment among youth has disrupted the process of labour force maintenance and reproduction. Reproduction is not complete until the potential worker finds employment and the longer the period of transition from school to work, the more 'unemployable' the person becomes. Schooling significantly contributes to the development of 'appropriate' work attitudes, but unemployment increasingly negates the lessons of schooling, produces a counter work culture, and legitimisation becomes more problematic. Further, dole payments by the

State act as a drain on rates of investment and accumulation, there being no productive return from the unemployed.

The State's political response to this situation has been to place renewed emphasis on careers education, the basics (with the concomitant pedagogy), technical training, work experience programs and labour market planning to make school leavers more attuned to the demands of industry. Simultaneously there are moves to increase the school retention rate and develop an alternative institutional apparatus to maintain youth in a state of suspended readiness for work (for example CYSS and EPUY). On 22 November 1979 the then Minister for Education, Senator Carrick, and the then Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs, Mr Viner, effectively encapsulated this policy orientation when they jointly announced the provision of $150m over five years for the National Transition Education Scheme:

> The aim of the Commonwealth's policy is that ultimately all young people in the 15-19 age group would be provided with options in education, training and employment, or any combination of these, either part-time or full-time, so that unemployment becomes the least acceptable alternative.

In so doing the State must seek to minimise the costs of such provision and this the Fraser government has sought to do, often to the detriment of the unemployed themselves (see Table III). With regard to schooling, the *State is*

Table III FEDERAL EXPENDITURE ON EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES 1978-79 TO 1980-81

SCHEME	1978-79		1979-80		1980-81	
	$m	Index	$m	Index	$m	Index
NEAT (excluding SYETP & EPUY)	22.8	100	23.7	103.9	26.8	117.5
SYETP	82.6	100	25.5	30.9	30.1	36.4
EPUY	3.1	100	3.7	119.4	4.0	129.0
CYSS	10.7	100	11.6	108.4	11.6	108.4
CRAFT	28.4	100	42.7	150.4	56.5	198.9
NAAS	0.3	100	0.01		0.0	
Group One Year Scheme	1.5	100	1.5	100	1.5	100
Special Assistance Program	1.5	100	1.4	93.3	0.0	
Additional Apprentices in Gov't	6.0	100	1.2	20.0	0.1	
National Transition Education Scheme (Transed)	0.0		4.5		33.9	
TOTAL	156.9	100	115.8	73.8	164.5*	104.8*

* If 1980-81 expenditure was to retain the real value of 1978-79 expenditure, the Index (based on C.P.I. increases) would have been 119.2 and expenditure $187.1m. Thus there was a decline, in real terms, of $22.6m.

Source: 1979-80 Budget Paper No.1; 1980-81 Budget Paper No.1; and Department of Employment and Youth Affairs, Annual Report 1979-80.

faced with the necessity of schooling a greater number of people for longer periods of time, and to do so more efficiently (more productively) but with less money.

Refractions in State policy[11]

That schooling structures and processes are being restructured is apparent, and that the final restructuring will be within the broad parameters imposed by the structural logic of capitalist social relations is also apparent. It would be a mistake, however, to see the restructuring as predetermined in all details. The State is not a monolith faithfully implementing that which is 'best' for the interests of capital, even if those 'best interests' were clear and unproblematic. Rather, the State in Australia is characterised by liberal democratic structures and processes within a federal constitutional framework. Refractions in State policy, from the point of political decision-making to the point of policy implementation on the ground, are bound to occur.

First, a distinction must be drawn between the State's need to secure the optimum conditions for capital in general, and the various, and not always consistent, demands placed on the State by different fractions of capital. The interests of manufacturing capital on the one hand and farming and mining capital on the other, for example, come into conflict on the issue of tariffs. Similarly there can be conflict within sections of manufacturing capital (textiles versus resource processing); between large and small capital; national and multinational capital etc. Representatives of these diverse interests form both lobby groups and strategic political alliances with different sections of political parties and with different political parties. These pressures are felt within the government and cabinet has to make political responses to those pressures, all the time seeking to secure what is best in the 'national interest'. Thus we had a Country Party led strategy of developing a manufacturing base behind a high tariff wall during the 1950s and 1960s, and a broad strategy for a resource led recovery and boom today.

The State is not infallible in making such political responses. In its search for the best interests of capital in general it must necessarily harm some fractions of capital and it must be ever mindful of electoral liabilities. Specific interest pressure groups can, and do, exert significant political pressure. The government must weigh up the demands of all these interests when formulating a political response to any issue. In so doing a government can fail to satisfy the interests of the dominant capital interests, as was evidenced by the dismissal of the Whitlam government and by the removal of Dick Hamer as Premier of Victoria. Thus the State's freedom to act in the interests of capital in general is limited by the structures and processes of a representative parliamentary system.

Third, due consideration must be given to the bureaucratic apparatus of the State, a bureaucracy made up of many departments, each with its specific client group, concerns and dynamics. Thus, any political response to the problem of youth unemployment as it relates to schooling cannot be simply the product of an interplay between Cabinet and the Department of Education. Treasury, the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs, the Prime Minister's department, and perhaps the Departments of Social

Security and Productivity will be involved. To this list must be added the pressures coming from industry, teachers' and parents' pressure groups. The ultimate decision made by Cabinet will of necessity be a political and bureaucratic compromise between interests and personalities.

With regard to schooling the federal nature of Australia's political system further complicates and refracts the State's decision-making and implementation processes. Any program relating to schooling and youth unemployment has to have the support and active involvement of the various state governments and bureaucracies, all of which react to their own particular networks of interests and pressures. EPUY provides a perfect example of refractions caused by federalism.

Even when all the political, federal/state, and bureaucratic decisions and compromises, refractions, have occurred, the policies have to be implemented within specific institutions (schools, colleges) each possessing its relative autonomy and internal dynamic, each attuned to its community, and each seeking to preserve its self interest. In this, the last site of refraction, the significance of teachers and students should not be underestimated.

By analysing these limitations on the power and effectiveness of government, by analysing the processes of political decision-making and policy implementation, it is possible to devise ways and means of intervening at both the decision-making level (an arena largely limited to organisational action) and the realisation level (open to smaller scale activity). It is from this perspective that the following analysis of EPUY is conducted.[14]

The Education Program for Unemployed Youth[15]

In October 1976 Senator Carrick, the then commonwealth Minister for Education, initiated discussions with the head of the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) Commission and senior officers of the then Department of Employment and Industrial Relations 'with a view to an appropriate educational program being developed to assist the young unemployed whose low or inadequate educational qualifications were inhibiting them from obtaining stable employment'.[16] These discussions led to negotiations with state TAFE authorities and in January 1977 a proposal was put to federal Cabinet for consideration. The government agreed to allocate $1.5m in 1977 for a pilot EPUY program if the state education ministers' agreement could be obtained. This was formally secured at the February 1977 meeting of the Australian Education Council (AEC).

From the beginning the cause of youth unemployment was seen in terms of inadequate schools and individual achievement: if only they could read, write and add up they would all be employed! Similarly, the complexity of realising a politically inspired educational response to the problem was evidenced in the processes of securing the initial agreement for a trial program. The latter point is further illustrated by the 'bureaucratic web of implementation'.

Responsibility for policy development, funding and overall coordination was placed in the hands of the commonwealth Department of Education, but funds were to be made available to state TAFE authorities through the states and not direct. State TAFE authorities were made responsible for course development, conduct and administration within the guidelines established at the commonwealth level. While the programs were to be conducted by TAFE colleges, the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations was to advise on which colleges should run programs—advice based on labour market considerations. The Commonwealth Employment Service was to help identify potential participants, and final selection was to be the joint responsibility of Employment and Industrial Relations and the relevant TAFE colleges. Payment of allowances (the unemployment benefit and $6 a week travel allowance) was to be paid by the Department of Social Security out of the total NEAT allocation from the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations. At the state level, steering committees were established to foster and develop the program. In all states the basic composition of these committees was representatives from the commonwealth Department of Education, the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (now Employment and Youth Affairs) and state TAFE authorities.

The first EPUY course was operating in July 1977, and by the end of that year it was operating in all states and 851 students had been enrolled.

Because of the complex EPUY bureaucratic arrangements refractions were bound to occur, from the stage of recognising and initiating a political response to a perceived problem to the stage of course implementation. The nature and extent of these refractions can be seen in Tables IV, V and VI. The significance of this is not that refractions were unexpected, indeed they

Table IV REFRACTIONS IN EPUY IN FOUR STATES

CHARACTERISTIC	QUEENSLAND	N.S.W.	VICTORIA	S. AUSTRALIA
Role of State Steering C'ttee	Advisory	Executive	Executive	Advisory
Role of State Co-ordinator	Minor	Major	Major	Major
Weelky cost per participant	$105	$70	$85	$70
Total cost per participant	$1,680	$420	$1,200	$1,400
Program duration	16 weeks	Most 6, some 12 weeks	12-20 weeks	20 weeks
Full-time staff	Rare	None	Some	Most
TAFE staff	About half	About half	Some	None
Staff development	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
State syllabus	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Physical facilities	TAFE college	TAFE college	Most non-institutionalised	All non-institutionalised
Average no. of participants	15	15	14	28
Participant/ Staff ratio	7.1	10.7	5.6	7.8

Source: Hubbert, G.D., An Evaluation of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth, Canberra, AGPS, 1980. Page 62 were expected, as can be seen in the announcement of the scheme in the *Commonwealth Record* 7-13 February 1977 (2(5):120):

> Senator Carrick said that he would not anticipate that any one type of educational course would predominate under the program. Rather, flexibility would be sought in the design of courses so that, subject to a degree of broad supervision, they would meet the needs of the young people in areas from which participants in particular courses would be drawn.

Rather, the significance lies in the fact that an analysis of the refractions can provide insights into where interventions can be effected, by whom, and into the nature and direction of those interventions.

Table IV, drawn from Hubbert's evaluation of EPUY in four states, summarises the state to state administrative and structural refractions. Most of these refractions emerged from initial state level decisions concerning overall responsibility for EPUY course development and implementation. In Queensland, for example, initial responsibility for EPUY was vested in the Curriculum and Evaluation Section of the Technical Education Branch of the Education Department. A state-wide syllabus (see Table V), setting out course content and hours to be spent on each area, was developed by the Section and implemented in ten TAFE colleges in 1977. This pattern of centralised decision-making has continued in Queensland with all major policy decisions being made in the Technical Education Branch. Thus the state steering committee, consisting of representatives from the Commonwealth Department of Education (CDE), the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs (DEYA), TAFE and employers, has been restricted to an advisory role and the state co-ordinator plays a minor role.

At the other end of the spectrum we find Victoria with a broadly representative committee structure and a decentralised decision-making procedure. Early decisions were made to conduct EPUY under the auspices of TAFE, to conduct specific EPUY programs in a non-institutionalised environment, and not to have a centrally determined state EPUY syllabus. The initial steering committee, consisting of representatives from CDE, DEYA, TAFE, the Technical Teachers Association of Victoria, the Industrial Training Commission and the Unemployed Workers Union, was more broadly representative than any other state committee and was vested with the major responsibility for EPUY development. Its major task was to vet submissions for EPUY course funding from TAFE colleges, secondary technical schools and other educational institutions and community groups, to ensure that the objectives and content satisfied the official guidelines. This arrangement lasted until new commonwealth EPUY guidelines were issued in July 1979. Responsibility for EPUY was devolved to the state offices of the commonwealth education department, but there was a simultaneous tightening of guidelines for the structure of state steering committees. The committees are now restricted to representatives of CDE, DEYA and TAFE, with the CDE representative holding the chair. The Victorian TAFE response was to establish a TAFE EPUY standing committee with similar membership to the old steering committee, and which now makes recommendations to the new state steering committee. Thus, EPUY in Victoria is marked by its degree of representation at the central policy level, and by the degree of autonomy enjoyed by individual course coordinators. Victoria has taken the commonwealth's notions of flexibility and relevance further than any other state.

Tables V and VI illustrate the extent and nature of refractions in EPUY objectives which occur when specific courses are developed and implemented by course coordinators. Queensland (see Table V), the state with the most highly centralised policy making structure, clearly shows that even though a centralised state policy section in the education department can develop and nominally impose a highly specific syllabus with allocated time for each unit, it cannot impose objectives and orientation on teachers. The syllabus sets a requirement of 114 hours to be spent on communication skills and 54 hours on communication with numbers, a fair reflection of the commonwealth's guidelines, but course coordinators in Queensland placed as their tenth objective improving levels of literacy and below that, improving levels on numeracy. And this despite the fact that the commonwealth guidelines state that

> There is no objection to additional areas (e.g. recreational skills, the rights of the citizen) being included, but a course will not be approved if such items are emphasised to the deteriment of the basic elements.

Table VI provides further evidence that significant refractions occur at the level of course implementation. Items such as improving literacy and numeracy skills may well appear on syllabi statements but there is no way the state authorities can impose their sense of the importance of those items.

Table V FEDERAL/STATE/TAFE COLLEGE REFRACTIONS IN QUEENSLAND

C'WEALTH GUIDELINES	QUEENSLAND SYLLABUS	QLD COURSE OBJECTIVES*
Improve:**		
Levels of literacy	Technical knowledge and skills	Self-confidence
Levels of numeracy	Communication skills	Improve motivation
Attitudes towards work & employment	Communication with numbers	Develop job holding skills
Self confidence	Health & Recreation activities	Develop new job skills
Levels of job seeking skills	Career education	Human relationship skills
Levels of other negotiable skills	Self expression through drama	Job knowledge
		Help cope with unemployment
		Supportive environment
		Develop social awareness
		Improve literacy

* Objectives as defined by Course Co-ordinators
** These objectives were not listed in order of importance

Source: Hubbert, G.D. An Evaluation of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth, 1980

Intervention

The first crucial area of intervention can be found in the processes through which the problem is defined, for it is the product of those processes which informs course development and implementation. Within official discourse on youth unemployment the dominant definition of the problem is couched in individualistic terms, in terms of individual inadequacy and responsibility, rather than in terms of a changing labour market:

> The Education Program for Unemployed Youth is based on the premise that a significant number of young unemployed are likely to remain so because of inadequate educational and personal development. Many will have left school early with low standards of literacy and numeracy. Their lack of achievement at school, followed by a lack of success on the employment market, will often have led to low motivation towards either work or self-improvement. Hubbert 1980, 10.

This definition enjoys a high level of legitimacy, a legitimacy based on its grounding in part of the reality of youth unemployment. As the commonwealth department of education points out in its initial Evaluation of the EPUY Pilot Phase, 'in 1975 nearly one half (47%) of all unemployed juniors had not attempted education beyond third form secondary standard' (1978:4). Moroecver, this basic orientation is reinforced by the present government's ideological and political opposition to job creation and public

Table vi: REFRACTIONS IN EPUY COURSE CONTENT IN FOUR STATES

COMBINED STATES*	QUEENSLAND*	NEW SOUTH WALES*	VICTORIA*	SOUTH AUSTRALIA*
Improve self-confidence	Self-confidence	Self-confidence	Self-confidence	Self-confidence
Improve motivation	Motivation	Motivation	Motivation	LITERACY
Improve human relationship skills	Job holding skills	Human relationship skills	Human relationship skills	Motivation
Develop job holding skills	New job skills	Job holding skills	Supportive environment	Numeracy
IMPROVE LITERACY	Human relationship skills	Help cope with unemployment	Help cope with unemployment	Job knowledge
Help cope with unemployment	Job knowledge	Help find job	LITERACY	Job holding skills
Provide supportive environment	Help cope with unemployment	Supportive environment	Job knowledge	Help cope with unemployment
Improve job knowledge	Supportive environment	LITERACY	Numeracy	Human relationship skills
Improve numeracy	Social awareness	Numeracy	Social awareness	Supportive environment
Develop social awareness	LITERACY	Social awareness	Job holding skills	Social awareness
Help find job				
Develop new job skills				

* Objectives as defined by co-ordinators of courses, not State Co-ordinators

Source: Hubbert, G.D. An Evaluation of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth, 1980. Pages 67-69 enterprise development schemes. Having thus rejected structural partial solutions to the youth unemployment problem, the only avenue of action (and some action is politically necessary) is that of focusing on individual skill and attitude development. It is this approach which forms the basis of EPUY.

Self confidence, human relationship skills, motivation and a supportive environment are all essential ingredients in coping with being unemployed. Improved levels of literacy and numeracy (relative to others) may increase a person's labour market competitiveness. However, in and by themselves, and as they are related in most EPUY courses, they do not provide a solution to the problem and they endorse an individualistic definition of problem and solution. That definition serves to use the victim as a scapegoat, and the best possible result of EPUY courses is a job at the expense of someone else. The problem is thus recycled, not solved. More frequently, for 66% of EPUY participants, the result is continuing unemployment, and for them the most they can expect is a range of coping skills to be utilised in the battle to maintain self identity. Their coping skills will be pitted against the repeated dejection resulting from failed job applications: failures seen by employers, society and themselves as personal failures.

The essential tasks for all people interested in working for a real solution to youth unemployment are to change the emphasis on the individual achievement approach and to provide avenues for the unemployed to work as a collectivity for programs which create job opportunities for all who want work. It is with these objectives in mind that the following proposals for intervention are made.

At the broadest level, the political and ideological perspective of the present government must be consistently attacked and a counter hegemonic perspective developed. The question for this article, however, is how to effect changes in EPUY, and the first avenue for such intervention is through the administrative structures. As previously noted, new commonwealth guidelines were issued in July 1979 and responsibility placed in the hands of CDE state offices. It would be false to see this as a partial realisation of the liberal democratic rhetoric of 'new federalism' with its connotations of decentralisation and regional responsibility, for what the commonwealth gave with one hand it took with the other. Guidelines for the structure and operation of the state steering committees were tightened to remove the possibility of broad representation in the decision-making processes.

Pressure should therefore be brought to bear on both the federal and state governments and departments, by the ALP, the trade union movement, the teachers' unions, the Unemployed People's Union and parents' organisations, to make the steering committees truly representative (along the lines of the Victorian TAFE EPUY Standing Committee). Parallel with these pressures arguments should be mounted for the abolition of state wide syllabi—a representative steering committee would be worthless if restricted to a rubber stamp role as in Queensland. As in Victoria it should be open for a variety of educational institutions and community groups to develop proposals for EPUY courses. Moreover, the onus should be on the steering committees to justify rejection of submissions rather than there being an expectation that those submissions comply with a set of guidelines imposed by the commonwealth. People working at the grassroots are more likely to be aware of local needs than either the commonwealth department or the steering committees.

To facilitate democratic control of EPUY, responsibility for specific courses should be placed in the hands of representative EPUY committees rather than in the hands of TAFE college principals. These committees should be open to representation from interested teachers, parents, trade unionists, employers, CYSS project officers, CES officers, etc. Campaigns can and should be mounted for devolution of responsibility for EPUY and the creation of guidelines to ensure local democratic control of EPUY courses as opposed to guidelines which restrict course content. In waging these campaigns notions such as accountability, quality and efficiency (the central concepts of the conservative attack on liberal progressive schooling), should be appropriated and used to de-legitimise the centralised decision-making structures and processes evident in EPUY. Direct representation and accountability can be effectively counterposed to indirect accountability to the electorate through the bureaucracy and the government. It should also be remembered that divisions exist within and between the various education departments and the departments and their respective political masters: divisions which can and should be exploited. Certain sections in the education bureaucracies adopt a less instrumental view of education than other sections, employers, most politicians and other public service departments, and alliances with the liberal progressive administrations should be attempted.

Intervention should not be limited, however, to a predominantly organisational campaign to democratise EPUY decision-making structures and processes. As previously argued, the teachers who teach in EPUY courses enjoy a relative autonomy from those decision-making structures. Teachers do have the opportunity to effect significant changes in course objectives and content, even in states with centrally imposed syllabi, and these opportunities should be exploited. It is therefore important to consider the difficulties inherent in such intervention and the possible nature and direction of such interventions.

All teachers, especially those working in EPUY or Transed, face a glaring contradiction: they know that what they do does have a direct effect on the individual student's future work prospects, and simultaneously they know that no matter what they do with individual students it will have no identifiable impact on the overall unemployment situation. Teachers have to come to grips with this reality. They know that their work with students can make those students more competitive on the labour market, but only at the expense of others who are made comparatively less competitive: to enhance one student's job prospects is to simultaneously disadvantage someone else.

A second conflict which must be confronted by teachers in EPUY or Transed centres is the question of how to simultaneously provide coping skills for a future of unemployment while, on the other hand, providing courses to improve students' job prospects. What is the point of the latter if the only reasonable expectation is a future of unemployment?

Given these contradictions, what can teachers in EPUY do? It would be a mistake to believe that the average EPUY student will take kindly to formal lessons on the nature of the economic recession, the political response to that recession, and solutions to unemployment. Moreover, such an approach would serve to reinforce the division between mental and manual labour: a division which contributes to many students rejecting formal schooling as irrelevant and which contributes to the continued legitimisation of existing exploitative social relations. Alternative means must be found, and some are being developed.

In Sydney participants in an EPUY pilot course produced a forty page booklet on their experiences at and since leaving school. The idea grew out of an open ended literacy project based on the notion that 'the experiences, understandings and knowledge held by participants are valuable and legitimate'.[17] In the words of the course teachers:

> What the pupils know and the ways in which they know it and express it is valuable. It is valuable for them to come to terms with this. It is valuable for teachers and schools to come to terms with it.
>
> The book allowed for critical discussion of their own work in their own terms. This process of reflection allowed issues such as racism, sexism, drugs and relationships to be explored in new and illuminating ways.
>
> The production process, requiring considerable group work skills, have a material basis for the development of such skills as photography, lay-out, graphics, etc.
>
> The organisation and implementation of the distribution of the book required a range of skills . . .
>
> It seems to us that organising the development of such skills around a task, and around a product of their own making, is a more productive way to approach the issues than simple role-plays or formal classroom lessons.[18]

By focusing course activities on the production of a socially useful product, a product which was sold to the students' old schools for use in classrooms, the division between mental and manual labour was broken down. By focusing on collective work and cooperation the debilitating and isolating experience of unemployment, the ideology of individual achievement, was countered by the reality of the possibility of organising collectively around socially useful tasks. The process of negotiating sales with people such as their previous school principals provided opportunities to develop social skills useful in the search for work and in coping with commercial transactions, etc.

Workplace experience (as opposed to work experience) offers another opportunity for intervention and refraction at the grass-roots level. It should not be seen, as it all too frequently is, as a means of fulfilling employers' expectations that school leavers and the unemployed should be made less critical and more accepting of the imposed discipline and dangers of the workplace. People working with the unemployed and potential unemployed have to reject Senator Carrick's view that

> what we have in quite a considerable number of the young are attitudinal problems . . . (and) what we now have to find out is whether there is any way of identifying these people early on and seeing if we can find remedies in time. *The Australian* 9.6.79.

Rather, workplace experience should be used as a means for students to develop an understanding of the nature of the work process, the social relations of production (ownership, control, wages and profits, technological change, the role of trade unions, etc.), and the pattern of industry in the community. This understanding will not be developed by students being sent to work for a few weeks, by having the students and employers complete forms relating to punctuality, neatness, acceptance of power structures, etc. Rather the students should participate in a collective process (with teachers, employees and employers) with the objective of developing company studies, industry studies and community studies. In this way students would develop, through a combination of mental and manual labour, a practical understanding not only of work and the labour process but also of the normally abstract concepts of economics, regional geography and local history.

If these rather idealised objectives are to be achieved the students would have to participate in formulating the study objectives, in deciding just what information was required as well as in the task of information gathering at their places of work. The industry studies should not be restricted to workplace experience sites but should include studies of service and control industries such as education, health, welfare, the media, the police and the legal system. In all cases the objective should be to adopt a critical perspective as opposed to simple description. For example, besides listing facilities and services, the community studies should seek to locate the community's problems and needs, local employment patterns and trends, housing, community services and organisations (including political parties), and planning and its consequences (the advent of a free-way, the demise of the corner store, transition to high density living).

These activities could be combined with the concepts and processes inherent in the previously referred to book produced by EPUY students. Similarly, people who live and work in the community should be used as resources with students gathering recordings of oral history along the lines of the Centreprise Project in London.[19] Where problems are identified and where it is possible to secure assistance from local government councils, projects could be undertaken by course participants. The work being done at Sunshine High School and by the Brunswick Secondary Education Council in Melbourne provide valuable insights into what can be achieved in this direction.[20]

Conclusions

The present economic recession has removed concepts of equality, participation and diversity from the debate about education and replaced them with the neo-classical economic twins of efficiency and quality as they relate to workforce reproduction. The essential relation between the labour market and schooling, as mediated by the State, has been drawn more sharply into focus. Manoeuvres by the State to maintain the young unemployed in a state of ever-readiness for work are within the parameters imposed by the demands of the fiscal crisis of the State through a period of major capital restructuring and reconstruction. Those manoeuvres are not, however, predetermined and immune from intervention by class and social forces opposed to the State's intentions.

Any political decision by the State is refracted many times in the implementation process and the sites of those refractions are simultaneously the sites for intervention by organisations and people seeking to develop a more realistic and significant response to youth unemployment. Only by studying the processes of implementation and the structures and processes of EPUY course provision can insights be gained relating to the location and nature of intervention. Intervention in EPUY, and other programs for the unemployed, by political parties, the trade union movement, departmental officers, teachers and community groups, is possible and desirable. However, if those interventions are to be effective there is a need for co-ordination between all interested and involved parties and for consistency in objectives and action.

Notes and references

[1] See B. Cass and K. Pedler 'Where are they hiding the unemployed' *SWRC Reprints* No. 2 Social Welfare Research Centre, Univ of NSW.

[2] See M. Brezniak and J. Collins 'The Australian Crisis: from boom to bust' *The Journal of Australian Political Economy* No. 1 Oct 1977; K. Rowley 'The end of the long boom', *Intervention* No. 6 1978; and G. Crough, E. L. Wheelwright and T. Wilshire (eds) *Australia and World Capitalism* Ringwood, Penguin 1980.

[3] See Trans National Co-operative Reportback No. 4 *The Job Killers* Sydney 1979.

[4] See M. Power 'Women and the economic crisis: the great depression and the present crisis' Women and Labour Conference, Macquarie Univ Sydney 1978; and Women's Employment Rights Campaign *Women and Unemployment*, Chippendale 1979.

[5] See Poulsen and Spearritt *Sydney: a social and political atlas* Sydney, George Allen and Unwin 1981 pages 24-27.

[6] See Tiggemann and Winefield 'Some psychological effects of unemployment on school leavers' *Australian Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 15 No.4 1980; and G. Clancy 'Youth unemployment: the social and psychological consequences' Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Sydney Nov 1980.

[7] See Freeland and Sharp 'The Williams Report on Education, Training and Employment: the decline and fall of Karmelot' *Intervention* No.14, 1981; B. Wilson 'The Williams Report: the secondary connection' *Radical Education Dossier* No. 10, 1979; and *Vestes* Vol.22 No.2, 1979

[8] See R. T. Fitzgerald *Through a Rear Vision Mirror* Hawthorn, ACER 1975; and Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies *Unpopular Education: schooling and social democracy in England since 1944* London, Hutchinson 1981.

[9] S. Frith 'Education and Industry' *Radical Education Dossier* No. 8, 1979.

[10] E. Jones 'Fraser and the social wage' *The Journal of Australian Political Economy* No. 5 July 1979.

[11] P. McCann (ed) *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* London, Methuen 1977; and B. Simon *The Two Nations and the Education Structure 1780-1870* London, Lawrence and Wishart 1974.

[12] For a full development of this argument see Freeland and Sharp 'Education, the state and the reproduction of labour power', paper presented to the annual conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra 1979.

[13] The notion of 'refraction' is used to convey an understanding of political decisions necessarily passing through a number of apparatuses/institutions in the implementation process. Just as light is refracted on passing through water, glass, etc., the initial political decision is necessarily refracted (variably) as it passes through the stages of implementation. This being so, the final impact of a political decision tends to be different from the initial political intention. The degree of refraction varies with the number of stages necessary for implementation and the level of intervention by specific interest groups at each stage.

[14] I would argue that such interventions should be based on a concept of socialist working class interests. See Frith and Corrigan 'The politics of education' in Young and Whitty (eds) *Society, State and Schooling* Ringmer, Falmer Press 1977; and G. Whitty 'Left policy and practice and the sociology of education' paper presented to the fourth annual Sociology of Education conference at Westhill College, Birmingham 5-7 Jan 1981.

[15] Most of the detailed information on EPUY in this section comes from G. D. Hubbert *An Evaluation of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth* Canberra AGPS 1980.

[16] *Education Program for Unemployed Youth: initial evaluation of pilot phase* Canberra AGPS 1977:6.

[17] Altman and Schofield *Report of Pilot EPUY Course: 16 July to 5 October, 1979* Sydney, Petersham College of TAFE 1979:5.

[18] Ibid: 8.

[19] K. Johnston 'Getting working class experience into print: the Centreprise Project' *Radical Education Dossier* No.10, 1979.

[20] 'Youth Unemployment: working class schools respond' *Radical Education Dossier* No. 10, 1979.

Source: J. Freeland, 'Where do they go after school: A critical analysis of the Education Program for Unemployed Youth', *Australian Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 3, 1981, pp. 352–73.

5

Curriculum change and the school-work interface: A critical analysis of work experience

Peter E. Watkins

Introduction

This paper offers explanations and interpretations of the introduction of such curriculum innovations as work-experience and careers education. Essentially it argues that they have been introduced as a means of social control. The type of control employed is of a hegemonic nature related to the dissatisfaction and the failure of expectation to match reality which faces many students entering the workforce.

Work-experience, then, is regarded as an attempt to resolve contradictions which have arisen between school and work. These contradictions result from, on the one hand, the inflation of credentials and qualifications, and on the other a reduction of skills required in the workplace through the increasing use of sophisticated technology.

In this context, work-experience brings home clearly to students that the main skills needed in the workplace are not cognitive skills but affective skills. The process of work-experience forces students to internalise the attitudes and beliefs appropriate to a particular organisation of the world of work. Programmes such as work-experience also mystify the problem of employment by performing a hegemonic function in internalising the belief that through these innovations jobs can be in some way *created*. Thus through such innovations, it is possible to encourage the atmosphere of job expectation while managing the anxiety of being unemployed. In this way changes in education such as work-experience function as a form of social control.

This paper is concerned with the school-work interface. In particular it is concerned with how this nexus is related to social control and social reproduction. The arena where these developments are meeting is in changes in the curriculum with the introduction of work-experience and career education. It is here that the ramifications of economic and technological change and social control and reproduction impinge on the school system.

In particular it is argued that the mechanisms relating industrial demands to educational processes are hegemonic, depending not upon physical coercion but upon symbolic violence (Apple, 1979c; Entwistle, 1978; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Through these means certain attitudes, meanings and ideas are presented as 'natural' and therefore inevitable. Thus individuals are, through this process, adjusted to the demands of a particular form of social organisation. Work-experience is argued to be a concrete example of this process of hegemonisation.

Work-Experience: Labelling and Allocation

During the period of economic and social difficulties that Australia is experiencing as part of the current crisis of western capitalism, work-experience has been seen as a useful solution to a variety of personal, educational and social problems (Sturman, 1979; Blakers, 1978).

Originally, work-experience schemes started as a means whereby students who were disadvantaged or who were not motivated by the existing school programme could be streamed out. As Blakers writes (1978: 336)

> During 1972 some effort was made to deal with a type of boy very prevalent in socially disadvantaged schools; i.e., the boy who is over 14 and has missed a great deal of school, has a great antipathy to it, and who is almost impossible to motivate academically.

Thus, in part, the work-experience programme aims to provide educational experiences for students who do not readily acquiesce to the structure and demands of the school. Consequently the scheme is seen as a resolution of the conflict between the school's advocacy of a particular knowledge and values, the counter culture of some students and the values and demands of the workplace. The placing of 'some trouble-makers' into the work situation therefore supposedly allows an easier identification on the part of working class boys with labour, especially physical labour (Willis, 1977). By this process, working class students are able to reject both the overt and covert curriculum of the school and link themselves to work and physical presence rather than the academic conformity of the school.

However, as Apple (1979d: 106) notes, 'the seeds of reproduction lie in this very rejection. The distinctions made and acted upon by the students imply a strong dichotomy between mental and manual labour. The seeming strength in the physical, the dismissing of mental "book learning", provides an important element in the recreation of the ideological hegemony of the dominant classes.' Thus those students who are placed in work-experience by their rejection of the school, virtually ensure that an unequal outcome in society will eventuate. For as Apple (1979b) stresses it is these students without credentials who will be bumped down into unemployment (cf. also Willis, 1977).

Apple sees work-experience as a basic necessity in the filtering process in which schools indulge. For although on the surface schools teach cultural and economic values which are supposedly shared by all students, in reality they make certain that only a specified number of students are filtered through to higher education. Those students who pass through do so 'because of their "ability" to contribute to the maximisation of the production of the technical knowledge . . . needed by the economy' (Apple, 1979c: 61).

Similarly, work-experience in this sense can be seen as analogous to the tracking system whereby students are put into academic and non-academic tracks, the result of which is the perpetuation of inequality (Rosenbaum, 1976; Howe and Lauter, 1972). This sorting of those children who are deemed to benefit by vocational education is achieved under the guise of best meeting the needs of the children in that stream, thus preparing children more efficiently for the kinds of jobs to which they are being allocated (Howe and Lauter, 1972: 231). However educational objectives and expectations on the part of both teachers and parents, in addition to the ways students react to various types of teaching and knowledge, differs for students of different social classes (Gintis and Bowles, 1975: 136). Thus, as Kerckhoff (1976) and Willis (1977) show, children become less convinced and eventually reject the proposition that everyone has an equal chance to 'obtain the "good things" in life' (Kerckhoff, 1976: 371). They then become susceptible to the introduction of work-experience and careers education veiled under the slogans of 'relevancy'.

Innovations of this type perform an important function in socialising individuals into 'accepting their designated roles and viewing their own well-being in terms of how much they can contribute, in their capacity, to strengthen the prevailing corporate order' (Squires, 1979: 35). By labelling students as non-academic and channelling them into a work-experience stream, schools introduce some finality into reproducing working-class futures. As Rosenbaum (1976: 211) points out

> Even within a working-class community, the non-college tracks, which prepare students for working-class jobs, confer low status. Thus curriculum diversity *creates status differences where such differences had not previously existed and confers stigma to working-class job prospects in a working-class community.*

Work-Experience: Skills, Attitudes and Expectations

As unemployment amongst the young has increased, work-experience has been seen not only as a means of streaming off the non-academic student but also as a means of acquainting the academic with the realities of the workplace and the affective skills required.

Thus Moreland High School (Work-Out Programme: 2) sees work-experience as responding to the

> many public statements from employer and government groups about schools being out of touch with the demands and expectations of industry.

Moreover the students involved in work-experience are able to make 'more realistic choices about their own jobs' (Moreland High, Work-Out Programme: 5). In this way 'the realities of the work situation with its often boring and exploitive aspects is usually the best teacher about what may lie in store for many of our students' (Cole, 1975: 6).

It is in statements of this kind that the nexus between work-experience and skills becomes clear. As Frith (1979) and Bowles (1973) point out, there is a distinction to be made between cognitive and attitudinal skills. 'What is being demanded from the "skilled" worker is not a specific task ability but a general set of attitudes' (Frith, 1979: 9). In fact as O'Toole (1975) shows 'there are precious few jobs that make much use of higher order skills, training or intelligence' (1975: 32). Moreover, he cites the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate that only about 20 per cent of all jobs will require tertiary education for successful performance in 1980. In addition the Office of Management and the Budget has found that half of all jobs do not even require a high school education (O'Toole, 1977: 49). In the Australian context a similar rhetoric applies. As the Williams Report suggests

> employers complain that current educational methods detract from the learning of subjects in a disciplined manner because they judge that this explains why many school leavers lack energy and discipline at work (1979: 4.58).

The changing demands of modern work have caused employers to seek employees who are resigned to 'obedience, submissiveness and a willingness to carry out mundane tasks cheerfully' (1979: 4.58).

As a consequence the Report recommends an extension of work-experience and other related innovations 'so that school leavers . . . have a better idea of the skills and attitudes required for particular occupations' (1979: R4.20). As Karmel says, schools must implant not only basic skills but 'work attitudes . . . to render young people employable' (*National Times*, 18.8.79: 21).

Employers' continual reference to inadequate skills may, however, simply disguise their concern at being faced with attitudes which conflict with their own value system. As Hart (1979), for instance, asks

> How often . . . do employers name the absence of basic skills as the reason for dissatisfaction with a young employee when the real issue is one of being confronted by a young person who does not share or understand the employer's attitudes or value system.

Similarly, after considering the skills actually required on the job Frith (1977: 11) concludes that

> employers are getting away with blatant mystifications of their demands: there is little connection between the skills they say they need and the tasks young school leavers can expect to perform.

In reality many school leavers may have higher levels of skills than available jobs require. The consequence, as Levin argues, is that 'substantial numbers of workers will be consigned to jobs considerably below their levels of skill and expectation' (Levin, 1977: 231). It is in this light that we must view work-experience, careers courses and similar innovations. Their aim in essence is to 'reduce the "unrealistically high" expectations for high-level careers and to guide students into preparing for the more attainable lower prestige ones' (Levin, 1976). Thus as work-experience programmes state, they are preparing students for the realism of the workplace where 'a large proportion of jobs are boring, provide little or no intrinsic meaning and are injurious to both human body and spirit' (Levin, 1978: 311).

Education, Employment and Social Control

The need for social control has been the prime mover in the complex intermeshing of technological and educational change. It is the fear of social unrest and disquiet through people being deskilled, underemployed or unemployed that prompts educational innovations such as work-experience in the hope that stability may be maintained. Thus in periods of crisis in employment we have numerous curriculum changes, like work-experience, relating to the transition from school to work.

In this context Bowles and Gintis (1977: 234) conclude that the main periods of educational change have coincided with 'or immediately followed periods of social unrest'. Often this results, as Levin indicates, from a 'mismatch', whereby the relatively static educational system loses its synchronisation with the social relations of production and technological change. As a consequence, graduates are produced who do not fit adequately into the workplace. As Bowles and Gintis write

> This disjunction between an economic dynamic which extends the wage-labor system and incessantly alters the organisation of work and the class structure on the one hand, and the educational system which tends to stabilise it in a given form on the other is, we believe, an essential aspect of the process of educational change (1977: 236).

The confusion resulting from this mismatch between economic and educational change and the resultant dislocation between reality and expectation has created much dissatisfaction amongst many people entering the workforce (O'Toole, 1975, 1977; Levin, 1976).

In an attempt to stabilise the situation there has been a flurry of curriculum innovations. Included in these are work-experience, vocational education, competency based education, behavioural objectives and systems management. These changes are attempts to inculcate in the students of the educational system not only the skills but also the values appropriate to the smooth functioning of corporate capitalism. As Apple (1979b) suggests

> All of these (innovations) and more signal the sometimes subtle and sometimes quite overt role of state intervention into schooling to attempt to maximise efficient production of both the agents and knowledge required by an unequal economy (1979b: 19).

Thus social control is the main task imposed on the school in difficult times. As a consequence it would be expected that affective skills rather than cognitive skills would be stressed in schools and moreover that these would be derived from those stressed by employers in their selection procedures. Thus the fervent emphasis on affective skills by employers, especially those attitudes and attributes that are 'conducive to cooperative relationships within a bureaucratic organisation', can be seen as the real foundation of the changes taking place in education (Squires, 1979: 142).

Technology, Routinisation and Schooling

It is frequently argued that the changes required in education are a direct result of technological change. The technological changes taking place are in some part responsible for the imbalance between the economic and educational sectors in terms of skills required and skills provided. However, it is also evident that certain alterations in the structure and application of technology demand changes in processes of social control. For example, the fragmented and routinised work procedure that is increasing with the introduction of current technological change is not a *necessary* part of that change. Rather, the increasing fragmentation arises as Gintis (1972: 280) shows 'from the needs of centralised control'. Likewise Vroom notes (1969: 243) that 'centralised structures are more effective for those (tasks) which are simple and routinised'.

In this respect, while there has been an expansion in education with consequent rising expectations of an increasingly educated labour force, there has been a contemporary decrease in the skills and intellectual involvement required in the world of work. This paradox is highlighted by Braverman:

> on the one hand, it is emphasised that modern work, as a result of the scientific-technical revolution and 'automation' requires even higher levels of education, training, the greater exercise of intelligence and mental effort in general. At the same time a mounting dissatisfaction with conditions of industrial labor appears to contradict this view (1974: 3).

He concludes that the idea of the need for an increasingly skilled workforce is a myth. Braverman argues that much work is not only being increasingly fragmented and atomised but that any vestige of decision making is being eradicated. Moreover, distinctions between skilled and unskilled labour are being transformed. Labour becomes more and more standardised and interchangeable with other units of labour.

For Braverman, the rationalisation of work is related to the increasing control over work activities for the benefit of capital. So the 'workshop division of labor is imposed by planning and control' (1974: 73). As a consequence management has become synonymous with control and effective management can only be achieved when 'the progressive alienation of the process of production from the worker has been completed' (1974: 58). It is in this context that Levin (1976: 164) shows that some graduates from school are finding themselves competing for jobs of low prestige and income, characterised by a much greater trend towards routinised work.

The increased routinisation of work produces a problem for schools, for while schools allocate labour into the unequal work roles of society they must still maintain an image of fostering both higher standards and equal opportunity. This reality is increasingly being unveiled under the implementation of work-experience and similar innovations. But work-experience or other innovations in the school will not resolve the situation. They will not stop the increasing fragmentation of jobs and they will not create jobs. What they may do is reduce the degree of expectation in students and acquaint them with the 'realities' of a routinised, fragmented workplace. Thus they will tend to mystify the contradiction between the world of work and the world of education.

Through the introduction of work-experience programmes, the school functions to prepare students for the acceptance of 'fragmentary tasks'. As a consequence many students have to be 'trained to tolerate boredom' (Feinberg and Rosemont, 1975; Apple, 1979c; Bowles and Gintis, 1977) which reflects the requirement 'that complex manual and some clerical tasks be broken down into simpler processes with each worker performing fewer and simpler movements while engaging in an even smaller part of the production process' (1975: 190). The result is that many of the recent curriculum innovations serve to bring home to the students most starkly that the cognitive skills acquired at secondary school are not required in the workplace and that, as a woman worker told Studs Terkel (1975) 'most of us have jobs that are too small for our spirits'.

Work-Experience and Hegemonic Control

The foregoing argument has suggested that gaps are appearing between the skills and attitudes produced by schools and those required by an increasingly routinised and deskilled world of work. Moreover, in order to obscure the reality of these disjunctions and in order to reduce the 'unrealistic' aspirations of many school-leavers, certain mechanisms of social control, such as work-experience, are being introduced. The problem is to explain how and why such mechanisms should be successful. One explanation is that contained in the concept of cultural hegemony.

According to Gramsci, cultural hegemony is exercised through institutions like schools so that control can be maintained by one dominant group over others. Basically this control is not coercive, there are no physical constraints, any constraints are moral and/or intellectual. Thus: 'rule by intellectual and moral hegemony is the form of power which gives stability and founds power upon wide-ranging consent and acquiescence'. This means that 'every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship' (Gramsci cited in Entwistle, 1978: 24).

This concept of hegemony is closely related to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. This refers to 'any power which manages to impose meanings and impose them as legitimate, by masking the relations of power which are the basis of its force' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 18). In both concepts there is no need to rule by physical force, it is suffice to rule by ideas. As Apple (1979c: 11) shows, Gramsci considered that there are two requirements for ideological hegemony: the creation of categories and their legitimation by intellectuals

> It is not merely that our economic order 'creates' categories and structures of feeling which saturate our everyday lives. Added to this must be a group of 'intellectuals' who employ and give legitimacy to the categories, who make the ideological forms seem neutral. Thus an examination of the very categories and procedures needs to be one of the prime foci of our investigation.

Thus schools present a view which appears to be in the interests of all members of society rather than the dominant group. Schools, through innovations like work-experience, reconstruct reality and intensify the socialisation processes through a system of legitimation (Meyer, 1977: 75).

Consequently, work-experience shows to the students that it is particular affective skills and behaviour traits which are rewarded in both the economic and school system. The imposition of these items is a form of control; control that ensures 'adequate diligence in the day-to-day performance of production tasks' (Edwards, 1976: 55). Thus 'through schooling, individuals become what they were not. Individual psychic development is molded in the interests of productive participation in the economy' (Gintis, 1974: 416). As a result the low economic returns of vocational schooling is understandable, 'in view of its misplaced emphasis on the "skill" content' (Gintis, 1971: 267).

The displacement of cognitive skills by emphasis on attitudes is argued by Squires (1979) who found that non-cognitive attributes were considered to be the most important for those entering the workforce. The attributes which could be considered as indicators of cognitive abilities such as creativity and intelligence, specific college courses taken and grades experience, were not highly rated by employers (1979: 129). Again Hart (1979) quotes a survey of expectations of employers in Western Australia concerning the output of the education system. The majority of employers

> criticised such behaviour characteristics as intolerance and discontent when required to carry out routine tasks, and lack of motivation and ambition. Discipline, responsibility, courtesy and a greater effort at work were the most frequently mentioned attributes that employers indicated they would like to see developed to establish a more positive attitude to employment.

Thus non-cognitive attributes such as clothing, attitudes, demeanour, hairstyles and, closely connected, the school you went to, become the dominant factors in the acquisition of a job. Cognitive ability and merit are *not* the prime considerations. Schools through the work-experience innovation and other similar programmes perform a hegemonic function, to get students to forget their aspirations and to inculcate in them the correct attitudes needed for the fragmented, routine jobs of the workplace.

Hegemony, Hierarchy and Work-Experience

If a major task of schools is that of reproducing a cultural hegemony which reconciles individuals to their inevitable fate within an increasingly deskilled, routinised and orderly workforce, then the introduction of work-experience programmes in schools can be seen as a peculiarly well suited adaptation to current economic pressures.

However, as Behn et al. (1974) point out not all students are prepared for the same work positions. As work has a strong hierarchy inherent within it marked by authority, pay and prestige then the corresponding output of schools must contribute to the filling of those roles. Therefore the schools serve the workplace by preparing workers to fill the hierarchy by differentiating both the amounts and types of schooling they receive. Schools then act as both a sorting device and socialiser in that they are aware that

> . . . personality traits (reinforced at various levels of the school system) required of employees differ according to the work role in question, those at the base of the hierarchy requiring a heavy emphasis on obedience and rules, and those at the top, where the discretionary scope is considerable, requiring a greater ability to make decisions on the basis of well-internalised norms (Bowles and Gintis in MacDonald, 1977: 8).

Schools through work-experience programmes clearly allocate students into the lower levels of a hierarchised labour force. Students are made aware of the reality of the situation and of the attitudes needed to gain and keep a job at the various levels of the workforce.

However, as Apple points out, schools are not merely socialising and allocative organisations: they are also productive organisations, for

> just as the economy is organised *not* for distribution but for accumulation so too are schools in a complex and often contradictory way roughly organised not for the widespread distribution of cultural commodities but for their production and accumulation by a corporate class (Apple, 1979b: 21).

This position argues that correspondence theorists like Bowles and Gintis (1977) and Levin (1974) have overlooked the implications of the nexus between economic and cultural capital. Moreover Apple is critical of the conspiracy approach often implicit in the work of

Bowles and Gintis. He sees the need to reproduce inequality 'as the result of structural causation'. The process of reproduction that schools are involved in and the need for programmes like work-experience to facilitate this is not the work of an 'elite group of managers . . . plotting ways to "do in" their workers at both the work place and the school' (1978: 384). Rather the existing patterns of productive relations among individuals and social groups will naturally generate actions and curriculum innovations that lend support to the allocation and socialisation of students into unequal productive relations. Therefore Apple argues that

> given the extant economic and political forms which now provide the principles upon which so much of our everyday lives are organised, this reproductive process is a 'logical necessity' for the continued maintenance of an unequal social order. The economic and cultural imbalance follows 'naturally' (Apple, 1978: 385).

This paper does not imply that work-experience teachers conspire to fit their students into the hierarchy of the workplace. Rather the innovation results from the powerful combination of societal and economic forces in which the school operates. Teachers implementing work-experience do not do so because they necessarily believe in the values of advanced industrial capitalism, but because they believe that given the unequal outcomes of society a student may face unemployment without these values.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that work-experience programmes in schools are closely related to an increasing awareness of the discontinuity between the attitudes and skills produced by schools and those 'required' by the world of work. However, far from producing levels of skills which are too low, schools typically produce levels greater than those required by jobs that are increasingly standardised, routinised and deskilled. Thus the most important aspect of work-experience programmes is their hegemonic function in reforming aspirations by reducing expectations and in producing acquiescence in the face of the 'reality' of work.

As a result it is not the reformulation of skills but the reforming of attitudes which is the main task of work-experience. The particular attitudes required are those compatible with a segmented labour force where the majority are destined for positions where the primary requirements are obedience, punctuality and a willingness to perform dull, repetitive tasks for prolonged periods and to perform them cheerfully. It is also argued that such requirements are not the result of a conspiracy on the part of dominant elites but a natural outcome of an unequal social order sustained by the processes of corporate capitalism.

It can be seen, therefore, that curricular changes such as work-experience are not fortuitous or random: they are 'dialectically interwoven and connected to questions of economic and cultural power and control' (Apple, 1979c: 158). In times of economic crisis and of mismatch between the economy and the school the covert curriculum becomes overt. This is illustrated by work-experience which entails the manifestation of those normally hidden functions of schools, namely the adoption of suitable personal attitudes and normative meanings, which may ensure employment. By this the link between the economic and educational systems is made closer so that education might directly serve the demands of industry. In this way, work-experience legitimises particular forms of social control and the social relations of production.

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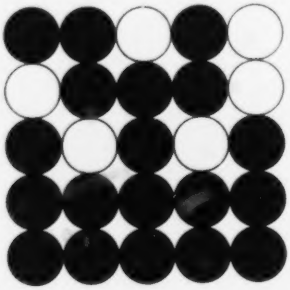

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Peter Watkins had been a teacher in the Victorian Education Department for twenty years before joining Deakin University. He completed an MEd in educational administration at Monash University, studying the power relationships in five technical schools. He then commenced doctoral studies, and completed his PhD at Deakin in 1982. The thesis examined a Year 11 group's perceptions of work before and after going out on work-experience. His main interests are the relationships between school and work; organisational power; workplace democracy; and the development of a critical analysis of organisations.

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